



# German American Annals

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# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

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Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
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Germany and America

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*The Union of Old German Students in America*

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CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

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### GERMANS IN TEXAS.

By GILBERT G. BENJAMIN, Ph. D.

#### CHAPTER III.

THE SOCIETY OF GERMAN PRINCES AND NOBLES FORMED FOR  
THE PURPOSE OF AIDING GERMANS TO SETTLE IN TEXAS.  
ITS AIMS. ITS INFLUENCE ON GERMAN IMMIGRATION.

It has been previously shown that before the forties many Germans had already settled in Texas. With the early forties immigration to Texas began in great numbers. One year the number landing in Galveston is stated as 8,000;<sup>1</sup> and in three months alone 4,020 Germans landed at that port. The motives which enticed such a number of immigrants to choose Texas for their home; the influences which brought about emigration en masse; the character of the emigrants themselves—their rank and position; the many sad instances resulting from such an immense immigration: these make the story one of as absorbing interest as the undertaking in itself was novel. Of all the colonial experiments attempted in this country, probably none had such a peculiar history as the one about to be told. The story in brief accounts has been told by many a German traveller and by as many more who never even saw the shores of America.<sup>2</sup> The accounts in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. I, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Soergel in his work, *Neueste Nachrichten aus Texas, Eisleben*, 1847, says that the author of the work entitled, *Texas Rathgeber für Auswanderer von Kuna Damian Schutz, Vereinsbeamten in Neu Braunfels*, Weisbaden, 1846, had never set foot in Texas. Others could be mentioned.

English have been meagre, and of only brief mention. Those deserving special notice are Olmstead, "Texas Journeys"; an article in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1848, and an article by Ferdinand Kapp in the *New York Tribune*, January 20, 1855. The story is also interesting because it shows what an important part literature played in inducing the Germans to immigrate. As the colonists in the early Colonial period were induced by the descriptions of life in America, as one dramatist of the time said, that "all the streets were of massy gold," so the colored pictures of life in Texas, the freedom of the inhabitant, led thousands to settle in Texas. The influence of Duden's work has been told in a previous chapter. It is also interesting to note that among the first German settlers, the one who probably was the first to bring his family to Texas was incited to emigrate to America after having read that book. His pictures in turn brought other immigrants. The Texan revolution, with its many thrilling stories, the struggle of a handful of hardy settlers against tyranny and religious oppression; the dramatic accounts of "the Alamo", of "Goliad" and "San Jacinto" became known throughout the reading public, not only of this country, but of Europe also. Many of those partaking in its engagements were Germans. These may have sent letters home, and in this way had an influence on immigration. Be this as it may, one writer's influence was particularly strong. This was the anonymous writer Sealsfield. His real name was Carl Postl. He was born March 3, 1793, in the village of Poppitz, Austria, and died in Switzerland in 1864. His father was mayor and justice of the town. He himself became secretary of the Kreuzherren von Poeltenberg in 1816. On account of trouble, he fled in 1823 to the United States. He travelled extensively in this country, and is supposed to have been a plantation owner in Louisiana. He became a most prolific writer. His descriptive powers were uncommon; his knowledge of life and character of every kind exceptional. "His historical novels are based on original research; his tales of the present time give us the fruit of his own observation and personal experience, beyond which the author had no desire to go."<sup>2</sup> It

<sup>2</sup> Faust, *Sealsfield*, p. 43.

is stated that "in the fortress of the Bund at Mainz some officers and nobles whiled away the time by reading. Among the works was that of the latest romance, "The Cabin Book" of the beloved writer, Sealsfield, which caused a furore in all circles of Germany.<sup>4</sup> Bracht mentions his work among those worthy of mention regarding Texas.<sup>5</sup> Kapp says that the Society of Nobles was influenced by the fact that Prince zu Leiningen had read during a sickness many works praising Texas.<sup>6</sup> That Sealsfield's novels were among these is very probable. In 1837 appeared his work, "Nathan the Squatter; or, the First American in Texas."<sup>7</sup> His descriptions of pioneer life are picturesque in the extreme, and some of them are almost idyllic. It is not to be marvelled at that they aroused a spirit of adventure in "the young Germans" of that time, who, to use the expression then current, were *Europamüde*. He gives idyllic scenes of life in the then thinly populated territory of Texas. Here is a description of scenery that must have been novel to his German readers:

"The colony \* \* \* extended from southeast to northwest along the summit of a ridge about fifteen miles in length, rising about seventy feet from the river on the southern side, and gradually sloping away to the prairie on the north. On the level summit of the ridge were situated the plantations of the wealthier members of society; and a more beautiful, or more favorable settlement you could not imagine. On one side lay what are called clearing lands, from which the primitive forest had just been removed—on the other, immense prairies with the tall grass waving about the heads of the browsing cattle, and horses who were pulling and tumbling against each other like rolling stones; the sound of tinkling cow-bells came to our ears on the gentle breeze; and in the far blue distance, a thick fog was seen glimmering in the sunbeams through every opening of the vast forest. The whole scene was buried in the profoundest silence—save only the tinkling cow-bells, and occasionally the heavy blast of the sea-shell calling the

<sup>4</sup> Rosenberg, *Kritik*, Austin, 1894, p. 13. Rosenberg was an early settler of Texas. His uncle was the Rosenberg mentioned above.

<sup>5</sup> Bracht, *Texas im Jahre 1848, 1849*, p. 308; also cf. Gottschall, Rudolf, *Die Deutsche National Literatur des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Article on "Sealsfield and the Ethnographische Roman or Exotische Culturroman."

<sup>6</sup> Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, Pt. II, p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> *Nathan, der Squatter Regulator, oder der erste Amerikaner in Texas*. Zurich, 1837; translated into English. *Life in the New World*. Translated by Hebbe and Mackay. New York, J. Winchester, 1844, Part 5.

workmen home from the fields. There was something charming and irresistible in the landscape. We paused \* \* \* after having contemplated the magnificent scene for several minutes in silence. \* \* \*

"Here these once magnificent trees—the best adapted for ship timbers of any in the world—were burned solely for their ashes. In France, a single one of these trunks would have sold for a thousand livres.\* \* \* \*

"With the wreck of our fortune, as little as it was competent to support us at home, here it was amply sufficient to gratify every wish of the heart—here I could prepare a home for my betrothed far from the injuries and storms of the world. If the French, the Spanish and the Germans, with far less means, had succeeded in this country, and placed themselves on an equality with the wealthiest in the land, surely I could do the same. I was as yet young, active and enterprising, actuated by faith and love, and feeling a world of power within me. Nothing was wanting but a little instruction—a tutor, to set me to work. \* \* \* I knew nothing about agriculture, except so far as it had been necessary to tenants and stewards, or rather to receive the rents they handed over to us. I could purchase a plantation and manage it by means of agents; but even if I had capital enough for this I knew none of the planters, and must be dependent on my own household; and to venture all on the cast of this die, which in the first year might ruin me, would have been downright insanity. \* \* \*

"Here on this second plantation, I found the thing I had so long searched in vain elsewhere—the guide capable of conducting me to the desired goal. \* \* \* I found the rudiments—the A B C of squatter life—in the clearings, in the woodland, and in the live oaks; the spelling book in the rude and artless dwellings, in the rough furniture made by the backwoodsman himself, in the horses and in the corn-stubbles. I saw plainly that I had only to do as the squatters had done to accomplish the same ends. He only who has to solve the difficult problem of getting along in the backwoods, as they term it, can form an idea of the childish haste I pounced on every object. To me it was an embryo plantation. The log-house had irresistible charms, I was in an ecstasy at the thought of the time when my beloved family, in their plain and simple robes, should come to meet me at the cabin-door as I returned from the fields."

Such descriptions as these must have set the minds of the ambitious young Germans to thoughts of immigration. In 1841 appeared the work which, if we can accept our sources, had the great influence of resulting in immigration to Texas en masse. This was, "*Das Kajütenbuch, oder Schilderungen aus dem Leben*

\* Translation, p. 326ff.

in Texas," Zürich, 1841.<sup>9</sup> The lively descriptions of the Texan War of Independence, the pictures of plantation life and of the extraordinary fruitfulness of the soil—all could not help but leave an impression on the sentimental German people.<sup>10</sup> It contains such pictures of the life and scenery in Texas as the following:

"Mr. Neal had only been three years in the country, and had during that time devoted himself exclusively to cattle, an occupation which, in Texas, is one of the pleasantest, most profitable and easiest which any gentleman can undertake without derogating from his dignity. His herds consisted of about seven or eight hundred head of cattle, and from fifty to sixty horses, all mustangs. The plantation, like most of those we had seen, was as yet little improved; the log-house built in that style which is so common in our South-western States, was spacious and comfortable. It was standing on the skirt of an island, \* \* \* between two gigantic sycamore trees, which sheltered it from the sun and wind. Before it, the endless prairie, with its waving grass and flowers, extended to an immeasurable distance; in the background rose a Texian primitive forest in its glorious majesty, overgrown with grape vines climbing a hundred feet or more among the trees and spreading their shoots all over the island. These islands are one of the most attractive beauties of Texian land scenery, and so exceedingly different in their shapes, and the luxury of their trees, that after having been for years in the country you will find new beauties in them.

"They are circular, in the shape of a parallelogram, of a hexagon, or an octagon, or else coiled up like snakes; the most skillful landscape gardener would vainly attempt to imitate these manifold charming figures. In the morning or towards the evening, when surrounded by light frames of vapors resembling blue silk, and shining in the trembling light of the first or last rays of the sun, they present a picture which would enrapture the least poetical soul.

"The easy, unassuming hospitality of the inhabitants of this favored country is another feature not less worthy of an idyl. Even in those houses where we came without recommendations—and I do not mean to speak of letters, but of verbal recommendations or compliments—we entered without ceremony quite unceremoniously, just as if we had been old acquaintances."<sup>11</sup> \* \* \* "As to the Texians, I firmly believe that if the whole Mexican army had marched against them, they would just as quietly and cheerfully have cleaned their rifles. The only words that were spoken were: spare your powder and lead—do not lose a shot."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> It had many translations. The most common is that by Mersch, N. Y., 1844. For others see Faust, *Sealsfield*, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ch. XVI of the book for his account of the Texan War of Independence including the Alamo massacre, the Goliad disaster, and the battle of San Jacinto.

<sup>11</sup> Translation, *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

These quotations will suffice for Sealsfield. What their effect would have been upon the young German noblemen in Mainz will be left to the reader to imagine. Other works which were current in Germany at this time were those of Kennedy and of Scherpf.<sup>15</sup> Kennedy was for several years previous to 1846 English Consul in Galveston. Roemer<sup>14</sup> met Kennedy himself in Texas. He says that Kennedy's work had spread almost the first knowledge of this land hitherto unknown in Europe.

Scherpf's work is mentioned by Roemer,<sup>15</sup> also by other German writers about Texas.<sup>16</sup> Scherpf<sup>17</sup> says that Texas is larger than all the German States, including Bohemia and Switzerland; that it has a climate similar to that of Italy; that in fruitfulness and beauty of formation none of the European countries could compare with it; that if it were presented to a few thousand persons, a state could be formed; that hunting and fishing are free in Texas, and can be found at any time of the year wild near the cities. His book contains chapters on the history of the Texan Revolution, products, rivers, business, etc. He says that the climate is almost continual summer; "altho the land flows with milk and honey, the cows must be milked and the honey gathered." It seems probable that Hecke's book must have been read by some of the German nobles, as the program of the German "Adelsverein" contains almost similar statements to those contained in that work. The Society published an account of its program. It stated that after having studied numerous geographical and statistical books about Texas, they "have come to the conclusion that in relation to climate, fertility of the soil and easiness of possession, it offers to the emigrant more advantages than any other land on earth."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Kennedy: *Texas, its History, Geography, Natural History, and Topography*. 2 Vols. London, 1840. It was translated into German by Otto von Czarnowsky, Frankfurt a. M., 1846. Scherpf, G. A.: *Entstehungsgeschichte und gegenwärtiger Zustand des neuen unabhängigen amerikanischen Staats Texas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte, Statistik und Geographie dieses Jahrhunderts, im Lande selbst gesammelt von G. A. Scherpf*. Augsburg, 1841.

<sup>16</sup> Roemer, p. 60. For character of the work cf. Roemer, p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> Roemer, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Notably Kordül, 1846. In his sources.

<sup>19</sup> Preface of Scherpf.

<sup>20</sup> *Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer*. Bremen, 1846, p. 114.

## THE GERMAN ADELSSVEREIN.

The late thirties and the early forties were a period of transition. It was the period when all sorts of idealistic experiments were being tried. Saint Simon and Fourier had many disciples both in Europe and America. During the forties, Fourierism had its sway in the United States. Horace Greeley was one of the advocates of "Association." The *Tribune* gave up its columns to expositions on the benefits of community life. Charles A. Dana, George William Curtis, Emerson and other leaders of the day were advocates of the benefits of that kind of life. The "Brook Farm" experiment and the Icarian communities were examples of the tendencies of the times.<sup>19</sup> It was during this time that there was formed a society of German nobles for the settlement of Texas by Germans. The immigration was to be in large numbers and the immigrants were to settle at one point, thus preserving their identity. The organization was to form a society *inter pares*; that is, only those of noble rank were to be members of it. On April 20, 1842, there gathered at Biebrich a. Rhein princes and counts and subscribed to the following document:<sup>20</sup>

"We the undersigned explain through this, that we having as our aim the purchase of land in the free-state of Texas, have constituted ourselves under this date, as a society.

"BIEBRICH, DEN 20. APRIL 1842."

The Count of Castell was the leading spirit of the undertaking. Among the members were Graf Castell, Graf Boos-Waldeck and many other noblemen. On the same date it was decided to send Counts Boos-Waldeck and Victor zu Leiningen to Texas to visit the country and purchase land. In May, 1842, they journeyed to Texas with money and full powers to carry out the ideas of the Society. They arrived in Galveston some time previous to September, 1842.<sup>21</sup> At this time the president

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Hilquit, *Socialism in the United States*.

<sup>20</sup> Rosenberg, *Kritik*, p. 9. *Entwickelungs-Geschichte*, etc., p. 23

<sup>21</sup> The *Houston Post*, Sept. 14, 1842, notes that they had arrived in town Sept. 10, 1842.

of the Republic of Texas was, through law of February 5, 1842, empowered to grant land to colonists under certain conditions.<sup>22</sup> Leiningen<sup>23</sup> laid down conditions (exemption from taxes for many years) which the president could not accept. Leiningen returned to Germany in 1843 and reported in favor of colonization in great numbers, in spite of his failure in Texas. On February 4, 1841, a contract was entered into between W. G. Peters and others with the government of Texas, by which colonists could be settled in Texas. This act gave the president of Texas the authority to grant lands to W. G. Peters and others introducing emigrants into Texas. On February 5, 1842, these rights were extended to others. The president was empowered to introduce colonists under certain terms as he thought suitable.<sup>24</sup> Had Leiningen entered into such an agreement, it is very probable that the future disasters of the German "Adelsverein" would not have resulted.

Boos-Waldeck<sup>25</sup> bought an extraordinarily favorable piece of land in Fayette County for 56,000 gulden. It contained good wood and water and showed the practical side of the purchaser. The land consisted of a league and was situated on Jack Creek, about fifteen miles from the Colorado River. He made of this a cotton plantation and worked it with about thirty slaves.<sup>26</sup> He was recalled, and returned in January, 1844, and reported against emigration en masse, because there was not enough money for that kind of an undertaking.

In the meantime, during June, 1843, a stock company, with forty shares of 5,000 gulden (\$2,000) par value per share, was formed. The entire capital stock was 200,000 gulden (\$80,000).<sup>27</sup> The purpose of the company was the purchase and set-

<sup>22</sup> Hartley's *Digest*, Art. 2087.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Rosenberg, *Kritik*, p. 10; *Entwickelungs-Geschichte*, p. 24. See above.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Hartley's *Digest*, Art. 2087. Dallam's *Reports*, No. XXX, pp. 326, 327.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Rosenberg, p. 10. *Entwickelungs-Geschichte*, p. 24. Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, Pt. II, p. 250.

<sup>26</sup> Kapp, p. 250.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Rosenberg, p. 10. *Entwickelungs-Geschichte*, p. 25. *Answers to Interrogatories*, pp. 4 and 5 (an account by Meusebach, later director general in Texas), Austin, 1894.



tlement of land areas in Texas. Castell was strongly in favor of emigration en masse. He was influenced by the idea of the English East India Company.<sup>28</sup> Boos-Waldeck's advice was not accepted and he left the Society. Accordingly, on March 25, 1844, in a general assembly, there was formed the "Gesellschaft zum Schutze deutscher Auswanderer nach Texas." This became generally called the "Mainzer Adelsverein," or more simply the "Adelsverein."<sup>29</sup> The Verein consisted of the following twenty-one members: Herzog Adolph von Nassau, Herzog Bernhard Erich von Meiningen, Herzog August Ernst von Sachsen-Coburg, Prinz Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig von Preussen, Fürst Günther zu Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Fürst Karl von Leiningen, Fürst Hermann von Wied, Fürst Ferdinand von Solms-Braunfels, Prinz Franz von Colorado-Mansfeld, Prinz Otto Viktor von Schönberg-Waldenburg, Prinz zu Solms-Braunfels Rheingrafenstein, Prinz Alexander von Solms-Braunfels, Graf Christian von Neu-Leiningen-Westerburg, Graf Friedrich von Alt-Leiningen-Westerburg, Graf Viktor von Alt-Leiningen-Westerburg, Graf Karl von Issenburg-Meerholz, Graf Edmund von Hatzfeld, Graf Karl Wilhelm George von Inn und Knyphausen-Lutelsberg, Graf Ormand von Renesse, Graf Karl von Castell and Baron Paul Szirnay.<sup>30</sup> Count von Castell was the recognized head of the undertaking. He declared that on the 25th. of March, 1844, in the general assembly, it was decided to give up the idea of private purchase of land and as an aim it was decided, financial speculation excepted, to furnish aid and protection to the Germans emigrating to Texas.<sup>31</sup> The Society was incorporated May 3, 1845, under a ministerial rescript of the Duchy of Nassau. The aims of the Society were set forth in a pamphlet issued in 1845.<sup>32</sup> The program as set forth in that pamphlet is as follows:

<sup>28</sup> Rosenberg, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> *Entwickelungs-Geschichte*, p. 25. Kapp, p. 251-252.

<sup>30</sup> The German titles are given to show the distinction between Prinz and Fürst.

<sup>31</sup> *Die deutschen Ansiedelungen in Texas*, Bonn, 1845, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> This pamphlet is contained in the book published by the Verein, *Ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer*, Bremen, 1846. An earlier edition was published, Bremen, 1845. Cf. Edition of 1846, pp. 64 and ff. The translation is taken from the article in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine.

"An association has been formed having for its aim as much as possible to guide German emigration into one and that a favorable channel, to support the emigrant on his long journey, and in his first struggles to assist him in getting a home.

"The association publishes this advertisement not with any view to procure money towards their undertaking, the necessary capital having been already signed, but, conscious of a righteous purpose, they feel it due to themselves and the public, to lay before the latter the motives which have called their association into existence; the ways and means by which they hope to effect their object, and the principles by which they are guided.

"The association neither means to further, nor excuse the tendency to emigrate. Enough that it exists, which is, unfortunately, as little to be denied as it is to be checked. Many causes work to bring this about. The work of hand-labor being suppressed by machinery; the great, almost periodic, crises that overwhelm commerce; the increasing poverty consequent upon over-population, the diminution of labor, and, also perhaps the much lauded richness of the soil in the New World; but above all an expectation, sometimes realized, but fully as often deceived, of a happier lot across the sea. Under such circumstances, the emigrants certainly could not fail to better themselves if keeping together in a well-ordered mass, and placing themselves under proper guidance, they found protection and support abroad. Thus are the necessity for, and aims of the association, at once explained. It wishes to regulate and guide emigration that a chance may be afforded the Germans of finding in America a German home, and that by maintaining an unbroken connection between themselves and the old country, an industrial and commercial intercourse may arise, morally and materially beneficial to both. It is after this manner that the association wishes to contribute its mite towards Germany's glory, and prosperity, and perhaps at some future period to afford the German poor a field for rewarded labor, to open to German industry new markets and to give to German sea-trade a 'wider expansion'."<sup>33</sup>

This document was published after annexation to the United States seemed probable. Other writers have given other motives as the purpose of the Verein. Von Behr in 1847 said that the Verein wished to form a feudal state which would lend money to its settlers and they would be treated, in a way, as its own property.<sup>34</sup> Mrs. Ernst, who entertained Leiningen, Boos-Waldeck and Solms-Braunfels, says that they had the idea of

<sup>33</sup> This program will be found in the original in Appendix B. It will also be found in Kapp, p. 252ff, and in Kordül, p. 254ff.

<sup>34</sup> Von Behr, Ottomar, 1847, p. 105. Behr lived in Texas many years. Cf. Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 193 foot-note.

forming Texas into a German colony and of organizing a monarchy there. Her husband informed them that this would be a difficult task since Texas was too near the American republic.<sup>85</sup> Grund says that they desired to Germanize the colony and to make a German state in America.<sup>86</sup> Berghaus says that it is the talk that the nobles planned to keep their subjects in the same condition of custom and habit as they had in Germany; that they would emigrate to America with all their subjects (*Unterthanen oder Hintersassen*).<sup>87</sup> He also states that the Mainzer Verein should be numbered among the colonies founded on philanthropic motives. A recent writer on the Evangelical Church in Texas says that the choice fell on the newly founded State of Texas where it was hoped to strengthen the already strong influence of the Germans on the government, and if possible in course of time to succeed in getting the Germans to control the state entirely.<sup>88</sup> It is stated that England was back of the movement to form a colony in Texas.<sup>89</sup> It is even said to have gone so far that a contract was drawn up between the English Government and the Verein. By it the Verein agreed to place 10,000 families in Texas, the English Government to guarantee protection to the colony. A new market for British goods, a new source of cotton opposition to slavery and the extension of the area to the United States were the reason for this. Prince Leiningen was the half brother of Queen Victoria. Prince Solms-Braunfels was a student friend, at Bonn, of Prince Albert. Kapp says that during his stay in Texas he often heard it stated that Lord Palmerston through Prince Albert had chosen Texas as the best colonization field to establish, under the protection of the English Government and in aristocratic feudal interests, a European and especially a Germany colony. This was in course of time to become a dam against the growing power of the

<sup>85</sup> *Der Deutsche Pionier*, Vol. XVI, No. 9, from *Texas Post*.

<sup>86</sup> Grund, F. J., *Handbuch*, Stuttgart, 1846, p. 262.

<sup>87</sup> Berghaus, Heinrich, Dr., *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika*, Gotha, 1848, p. 78ff.

<sup>88</sup> Mgebroff, pp. 3 and 4.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 172, foot-note.

United States. He further states that after search he has not been able to find any proof for the assertion and is convinced of the unreasonableness of the statement.<sup>40</sup> He asserts that reliable information is not yet known and in the foreground stands the philanthropic motive.<sup>41</sup> The original reports of the Prince Solms-Braunfels, the commissioner-general of the Verein in Texas, to the parent society in Germany show that the motives that influenced the German noblemen to colonization were in part commercial and in part humanistic. These reports were written by the Prince for the eyes of the directory in German alone, and they show the Utopian character of the whole colonization movement. They show that "the Verein" was greatly influenced by the idea of maintaining their own nationality among the German settlers in Texas. They aimed to concentrate the Germans in one locality and that near enough to the coast to control the trade with Mexico. In one report, Prince Solms reports a conversation with Bourgeois d'Orvanne. The latter said: "*Ph! Nationalité c'est un mot.*" To which Solms replied: "*Oui, pour vous peut-être, pas pour moi, ni pour l'association.*" In another report, Solms claims that the Germans in Texas recognized as the aims of the Adelsverein, the preservation of German nationality in that republic. While Solms was at Industry, Fritz Ernst gave as a toast: "To the welfare of the noble and generous German princes who also consider the welfare of their subjects on this side of the ocean." The Prince reports that it is his greatest desire to obtain from the Texan Congress such commercial privileges for "the Verein" as would place it in condition not only to care for the agricultural classes in the Fatherland, but also would gain for German industry new markets and for German commerce a wider expansion. He promises to obtain from the Texan Congress "a reduction of all import duties for all ships sailing under the protection of "the Verein." He states that the people of the West recognize that through the relations of the Adelsverein with Texas cheaper merchandise may

<sup>40</sup> Kapp, p. 249.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

be obtained. The Prince wished to visit Germany in the spring of 1845, in order to disclose "the opportunities for colonization as well as for business which can be carried under the flag of "the Verein," and to make known to the German government the commercial advantages which would accrue to them as a result of their subjects becoming members of the society.<sup>42</sup> The majority of the statements attributing the motives of the founders of the Society to the influence of British gold can be traced to a certain A. Siemering.<sup>43</sup> He was a fanatic hater of princes and all nobility. His accounts were full of bias and prejudice.<sup>44</sup> *Turn Zeitung*, of 1853, states that Solms-Braunfels had the patronage of Queen Victoria to aid him in his Adelsverein; that the princes were to form a young dynasty under the protection of the German Bund.<sup>45</sup> A careful sifting of the proof will probably show that in the main the reasons for the founding of the Verein were philanthropic, although it probably had some ideas of commercial benefits to be derived, and the idea of founding a German state in Texas may not have been absent. The proof for the latter motive can be traced to earlier statements than the statement that British gold was back of the movement. No earlier statement has yet been found than that of 1853. Siemering did not come to Texas until the early fifties. There is no doubt that eagerness for land played an important part in inducing emigrants to settle in Texas.<sup>46</sup> The idea that there were minerals in that territory also had its influence.<sup>47</sup>

In the same pamphlet, specified above, it is further stated that after careful study of different works about Texas, that territory was fixed upon as the most suitable to their purpose.

<sup>42</sup> The reports of Prince Solms-Braunfels are printed in *Deutsch-texanische Monatshefte*, Vol. 9. They were discovered by its editor in an inn in New Braunfels.

<sup>43</sup> Letter of L. F. La Freutz, editor of *Deutsch-texanische Monatshefte*, Dec. 15, 1904.

<sup>44</sup> Same letter, *supra*.

<sup>45</sup> *Turn Zeitung*, *Organ des Socialistischen Turnerbundes*, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1853, p. 277.

<sup>46</sup> Sommer, 1846, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Ross, 1851, p. 44.

They announce that they have a district of land 450 square miles<sup>48</sup> in extent not very far from San Antonio. Of this land each emigrant was to receive a stated portion<sup>49</sup>—320 acres for each family or 160 for each single man over seventeen years of age, as a free gift, upon arrival, without being expected either then or at some future time to refund for it to the association. This gift was to be secured by documents before departure, to become the property of the emigrant as soon as he should have dwelt three consecutive years on the allotment, the returns of the land belonging to him from the very first. The Verein further promised to provide good and roomy ships for the passage; cheap, yet a wholesome, fare whilst on board ship; agents to receive the emigrants on landing; and carriages to transport them and their baggage free of expense, to their place of destination. Their wants on arrival were to be no less cared for—houses, or the means to erect such, were to be immediately provided, and all the necessary tools for husbandry, cattle for stocking farms, necessary provisions and eatables, until such time as they could raise such articles for themselves. All these first necessities of the newly arrived settler were to be procured at the storehouse belonging to the association, not only at lower prices than they could be gotten elsewhere, but upon credit. They were furthermore promised churches and schools, physicians and apothecaries, and a hospital. Added to all these advantages was that of the emigrant being able, if unsatisfied, to return to Europe in the ships of the Verein, and pay no more for the homeward than the outward voyage. To obviate the possible difficulties and loss attending upon money-changing on arriving, the Verein also offered to accept deposits in Europe, which it would refund in Texas. In another place it was stated that each person should deposit 300 fl. (\$120) in Bremen, each family 600 fl. (\$240). For this sum the Verein promised free passage from Bremen to the port of landing, free transportation to the colony itself; and the delivery of a dwelling house.

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<sup>48</sup> Cf. Appendix C.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

If the emigrant should deposit a larger sum, the Verein promised 3% interest on such deposit. It further promised that a savings bank would be established which would pay 5% interest. The right of choosing their own officials was left to the colonists in accordance with the laws of Texas.<sup>50</sup> Previous to the publication of the program, a certain Frenchman by the name of d'Orvanne<sup>51</sup> had come to Germany. This was in the summer of 1843. He had a colonization contract and on September 19, 1843, the Verein bought his rights from him. He was made a member of the Verein, and was chosen as colonial-director. Prince Charles, of Solms-Braunfels, was chosen as general agent on March 25, 1844, and d'Orvanne was to aid him in Texas in carrying out the scheme of the society.<sup>52</sup> The program given above had been adopted April 9, 1844. The contract of d'Orvanne had still three months to run. His contract was dated June 3, 1842, and under its conditions within eighteen months four hundred families had to settle in the territory of his grant. The contract was therefore abrogated December 3, 1843. Through law of January 30, 1844, all contracts whose terms had remained unfilled were abrogated. In the meantime, in May, 1844, d'Orvanne and Solms-Braunfels journeyed to Texas. The latter arrived at Galveston July 1, 1844.<sup>53</sup> Arrived in Texas, d'Orvanne prayed the president in a letter under date of July 8 and 10, 1844, to have his contracts extended. He could not conceal longer from Prince Solms-Braunfels the real truth regarding his contract. The prince addressed letters to the "Verein" showing the real condition of affairs.<sup>54</sup> The arrival of immigrants was approaching, and there was no land in sight.

In these letters, the prince states regarding the plantation of Nassau which had been already purchased by Boos-Waldeck

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Appendix C. *Organische Statut der Colonisation*.

<sup>51</sup> Alexander Bourgeois (d'Orvanne).

<sup>52</sup> Rosenberg, p. 11. *Entwickelungs-Geschichte*, p. 25. Kordül, p. 259. Kapp, p. 251.

<sup>53</sup> *Jahrbuch für Texas*, 1884; also letter of Solms dated April 27, 1845.

<sup>54</sup> Rosenberg, p. 12.

that it was not suited to the purposes of the colonization society; he also states regarding Bourgeois d'Orvanne's grant that it was too far from the coast in order to carry on trade with Mexico; that it was in a neighborhood of settlers and hence not adapted to establishing the Germans in a colony by themselves in order to preserve their national customs and religion.<sup>55</sup> Solms further states that he was unable to find any proof for the pretended friendship of d'Orvanne with the president and vice-president of Texas, that if there were this relationship between him and the governmental officers of the Texan Republic, it only existed because the Frenchman was connected with "the Verein."

September 1, 1843, the president had entered under contract with Henry F. Fischer and Burchhard Miller under the same conditions as those given to W. S. Peters and others, February 4, 1841. This act had been extended to anyone whom the president in his judgment saw fit to approve.<sup>56</sup> The terms of this contract were: that Fischer and Miller were to introduce 600 families or unmarried men over seventeen years of age; all must be free white settlers of a foreign country; they must settle within three years from date of the contract; the limits of the territory begin at the confluence of the Llano with the Colorado, follow the curves of the Llano to its source, go from there in a direct line 50 English miles south, and from there in a direct line westward to the Colorado and follow the course of the Colorado to the point of beginning. Fischer and Miller were to receive a premium of ten sections for every hundred families, and of five sections for every hundred single men.<sup>57</sup> This contract was raised to number 6,000 families on January 9, 1844.<sup>58</sup> All settlements made by the first of August, 1844, were to be left in possession of the land occupied. Two

<sup>55</sup> Original Berichte des Prinzen Karl zu Solms in *Deutsch-texanische Monatshefte*, Vol. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Hartley's *Digest of Texas Laws*, (2139). Kordül gives the date as Sept. 4, 1843. Kordül, p. 260ff.

<sup>57</sup> This is known as Fischer and Miller's second contract. The first was dated June 7, 1842, but was essentially the same. Rosenberg, p. 12.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*



hundred families (one-third of the required number) had to be brought in by the end of the first year, or the contract became null and void. Every alternate section of land was left in possession of the State.

Fischer travelled to Europe, and under date of June 24, 1844, a contract was signed between Count von Castell, representing the Verein, and Fischer.<sup>80</sup> The Verein promised to pay to Fischer on the same date 100 Friedrich's d'or; on July 5, 1844, \$3,600; and on September 1, 1845, \$2,000 cash in New Orleans. The Union further promised to raise a capital of \$80,000 and to have enough capital by August 1, 1844, to bring in 300 to 400 families. The Union was to receive two-thirds of the profits resulting from sales of land and industrial establishments; Fischer and Miller, one third. The special execution of colonization was left to a colonial committee of six members, of which Fischer or his appointee was to be one; in this committee, the Verein was to have five votes, Fischer three. For this, the Verein received the rights of Fischer and Miller in the contract. It believed it had really purchased land and hence made the promise of 320 acres to each family, and 160 acres to each unmarried man. The land was 300 miles from the coast and 150 miles from any settlement. It was in the possession of hostile Indian races. Good land could have been bought within the settlements at that time for five to ten cents per acre.<sup>81</sup> They believed on Fischer's word that they could bring out 6,000 families on a capital of \$80,000.<sup>82</sup> Soergel, who was on the ground, figured that it would take at least a million dollars to bring over that many colonists.<sup>83</sup> The promises made by the Verein could not possibly have been carried out. This shows the lack of business sense of its members. A little calculation would have shown them that their undertaking was a gigantic affair. If they had received land as they supposed, instead of simply a contract, it still might have been no im-

<sup>80</sup> Kordül, p. 265ff, gives the contract in full.

<sup>81</sup> Rosenberg, p. 13.

<sup>82</sup> *Entwickelungs-Geschichte*, p. 27.

<sup>83</sup> Soergel, Alwin H., *Für Auswanderungslustige! Briefe eines unter dem*

possibility as the land might have been sold for some price, and money thus raised.

Solms was friendly received in Texas by the president and members of Congress. The latter considered the presence of the German count in Texas as promising an important immigration of Germans. The count was unfavorably disposed toward Fischer's grant for the reason that he believed that he could obtain from the Texan Congress more favorable terms and a longer contract. He reported to the Directory in Germany that Fischer's grant was too far away in order to carry on trade with Mexico; that it was 80 miles from the plantation of Nassau and 140 miles from the coast; that the Indians still occupied the land and had to be expelled from it.<sup>63</sup> Anson Jones, at that time Secretary of State, informed the prince that the society would obtain from Congress all that it wished at its next session. Had the suggestions of the prince been followed, the future troubles of the colonists might have been avoided.

Their contract was signed June 24, 1844, and by September, 1844, 200 families must be brought over. This was increased to a period of six months longer on January 9, 1844, so the Verein had only eight months and six days with which to fulfill the conditions of the contract. In June, 1844, the Duke of Nassau had been made the protector of the society; Prince von Leiningen, president, Count von Castell, director and

*Schutze des Mainzer Vereins nach Texas Ausgewanderten*, Leipzig, 1847. Letter under date of April 6, 1846, p. 49. His figures are as follows:

For 2500 persons.

700 wagons @ \$80 .....	\$56,000
5,600 oxen @ \$20 a span .....	112,000
700 drivers, three months @ \$30 per mo. ....	63,000
3000 oxen advanced to settlers @ \$20 .....	60,000
3000 cows @ \$8 .....	24,000
1500 horses @ \$20 .....	30,000
For 2500 persons. Provisions for 6 mo.	
@ \$20 .....	50,000

Total .....\$395,000

The purchase of storehouses, surveying, etc., would bring the cost to at least \$500,000. For 6000 persons \$1,000,000 would not seem too small a sum.

<sup>63</sup> *Berichte des Prinzen Karl zu Solms Deutsch-texanische Monatshefte*, Vol. 9.

vice-president. The members now consisted of twenty-three nobles, of which the Countess zu Isenburg-Meerholz was one.<sup>64</sup> On January 20, 1845, Congress had modified the conditions of Fischer and Miller's contract. They were to have the right to bring over any number of immigrants from 600 to 6,000 and the time was extended to September 1, 1847, within which to fulfill the conditions.<sup>65</sup> In the prospectus of the Verein, it was stated that "not more than one hundred and fifty families would be accepted" the first year, "and not until these have established a sure foundation will a more extensive emigration be encouraged."<sup>66</sup> In November and December, 1844, three ship-loads of emigrants followed Solms-Braunfels who had arrived July first of that year. These were the Bremen barks, "Johann Dethart," "Herschel" and "Ferdinand."<sup>67</sup> In the autumn of that year, 110 families and 87 single persons had left Bremen under the auspices of the Union.<sup>68</sup> It is estimated that some 400 German immigrants came to Texas during that year under the protection of the Adelsverein.<sup>69</sup> The Handbuch of the society states that some 200 families, some 700 persons, were sent by the society in September and October, 1844.<sup>70</sup> Another writer says that there were six ships with 496 emigrants sent to Texas in 1844.<sup>71</sup> A rough estimate would be, therefore, that between 400 and 700 persons were brought over by the union during that year. The "Weserzeitung," Bremen, September 25, 1844, says, "that almost never before were seen so many emigrants, among them many persons, who, in accordance with their dress and their many effects, seem to belong to the better class of emigrants. They are the members of the first expedition destined for the colony of the Verein, in Texas. Each ship

<sup>64</sup> Letter of Prince Solms-Braunfels dated Sophienburg (New Braunfels, Texas), April 27, 1845, quoted in *New Braunfels Zeitung*, May 27, 1870.

<sup>65</sup> Hartley's Digest, 2141.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1848, p. 220.

<sup>67</sup> Letter of Solms-Braunfels as *supra*.

<sup>68</sup> *Der Auswanderer nach Texas*, Bremen, 1846, p. 94.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>70</sup> *Handbuch*, p. 79.

<sup>71</sup> Büttner, *Briefe*, p. 208, foot-note.

contained provisions for six months. A physician, surgeon, geometer, engineer, carpenters, masons, saddlers, bakers, and many apothecaries, accompany the expedition. The ships contain the best kind of surgical instruments, machine parts, etc. Persons are sent to purchase cattle, seeds, etc., in Texas."<sup>72</sup>

From Galveston, the immigrants were shipped on schooners to Lavacca Bay, where a camp was pitched. December 25, of that year, a Christmas festival was given by the prince to the children of the immigrants.<sup>73</sup> The camp was soon removed to Chocolate Bayou, and remained here until all of the colonists had been brought together. The camp was then pitched at Spring Creek, beyond Victoria. During March, 1845, the prince rode ahead, accompanied by some of his officers, to San Antonio. An old Texan, John Rahm, had told him about "La Fontanas," the beautiful Comal Springs, and upon his advice he bought from Rafael Garza and his wife, Maria Antonia Veramendi, the Comal tract, March 14, 1845.<sup>74</sup> This tract was a part of Juan Martiu's Veramendi estate, which lay fifteen miles above Seguin, surrounding Comal Springs and five miles of the Comal valley. On March 15, 1845, he paid \$500 in cash. The purchase price was \$1,111 and the balance was to be paid within thirty days.<sup>75</sup> Under the leadership of J. J. von Coll, the emigrants were brought from Victoria<sup>76</sup> and the settlement of the Verein, which afterwards became New Braunfels, was founded.<sup>77</sup> A treaty was made with the Lipan Indians, and the City of New Braunfels, named after the estate of Solms in

<sup>72</sup> *Weserzeitung*, Sept. 25, 1844; quoted in *Handbuch*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>73</sup> *Jahrbuch für Texas*, pp. 32ff.

<sup>74</sup> Seele, Hermann: *A Short History of Comal County, Texas*; New Braunfels, 1885.

<sup>75</sup> *Texas Jahrbuch*, p. 32ff.

<sup>76</sup> Letter dated New Braunfels, May 14, 1845, shows the long period the emigrant had to make this journey. He left Bremen Sept. 23, 1844, and reached Galveston Nov. 23, 1844. He went from Galveston to Indian Point and remained there two days. On Dec. 5th, he went to Port La Vaca on Mategorda Bay, and remained on shore in tents for two days. Jan. 2, 1845, he moved to Chocolate Creek, seven miles in the interior and waited here four weeks. Then journey to Victoria and was there three weeks. Moved forty miles into the interior. April 6th, he arrived at last at the settlement. His journey took him seven months. Quoted in Kordul, p. 294.

<sup>77</sup> *History of Comal County*.

Germany, was laid out. The first wagons of the immigrants crossed the Guadalupe March 21, 1845. The town was laid out beside the high steep banks of the Comal river which served as a sort of protection against the Indians. The location for picturesqueness and beauty could not be excelled. "On one side brews the Guadalupe, while on the other, the beautiful and somewhat inimitable Comal rolls away with its bright crystal waters, with a velocity of some six miles to the hour. As we stood viewing the romantic landscape, our companion, a Virginian, calls out, 'There is nothing like it in the Old Dominion!'"<sup>78</sup> The city lay on a small treeless plain, about half a mile in width and the same distance in length. This plain was bounded on the south by gently sloping hills, on the east by the Guadalupe, on the north and northwest by the Comal. Beyond the Comal, a steep precipice of some 400 feet or higher descends, which draws away in its northeastern direction to the other bank of the Guadalupe. This precipice is covered with a thick forest of red cedars.

The Guadalupe, which flows east of the town, is a thirty-foot wide stream rushing over a rocky bed. The waters of both the Guadalupe and the Comal have a purity which scarcely any of the mountain streams of the Alps can equal. Just beyond the city the Guadalupe unites with the Comal.<sup>79</sup> Prince Solms through his engineers had the town surveyed and laid out in lots.<sup>80</sup> Each of the new immigrants was given a half acre of land in the town, and ten acres in the surrounding country.<sup>81</sup> This was quite different from the promises of 320 and 160 acres respectively. The settlers, however, joyous on account of being freed from their long journey in the wilderness set forth to build their houses, and to regulate their homes.<sup>82</sup> The city was laid out after a regular plan. All streets crossed each other at right angles, and the main streets met in an open

<sup>78</sup> *Victoria (Texas) Advocate*, Feb. 10, 1847.

<sup>79</sup> Roemer, p. 116-117.

<sup>80</sup> *Jahrbuch*, p. 33ff.

<sup>81</sup> Roemer, p. 24.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

square—the market place.<sup>83</sup> A company of twenty men was formed to protect the settlers against the Indians. Hospitals were built, and cannons placed in the city.<sup>84</sup> The Indians, consisting of the Lipans, the Tonkawas and Caranquoes, were treated in a friendly manner by the settlers and the officials of the society. On April 28, 1845, the prince laid the foundations of a stronghold which he called "Sophienburg" after his lady-love.<sup>85</sup>

The expenses of feeding so many people, and the other expenses necessary to carry out so great an undertaking ate up the money of the Verein. The prince was not fitted to carry out such an undertaking. He was a typical noble of a small German State. He had an exaggerated idea of his own importance, and thought he could carry himself in America with the same attitude toward his people as he could in Germany. He rode around the country followed by a retinue of officers dressed in the fashion of German military officers. His train consisted of an architect, a cook, and a professional hunter (jäger).<sup>86</sup> He would not eat at the same table with others.<sup>87</sup> This did not endear him to the Texan settlers. They, of course, did not understand such conduct. It was entirely out of accord with the free and open life of the plains. He deserves great credit however for the sacrifices which he made, and the efforts he gave to try to better a bad condition of affairs. His greatest lack was, however, his little knowledge of business.<sup>88</sup> The character of the prince is well shown by his signature to the letter of April 27, 1845.<sup>89</sup> The prince was thirty-three years old at the time of his stay in Texas.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>84</sup> *Jahrbuch*, p. 32ff.

<sup>85</sup> Letter of Solms quoted above.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Texas Quarterly*, II, pp. 231-2.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Roemer, p. 25. Also Kapp's lecture, *N. Y. Tribune*, Jan. 20, 1855; also Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, p. 261ff.

<sup>89</sup> It is signed: Karl Friederich Wilhelm Ludwig Georg Alfred Alexander, Prinz zu Solms, Herr zu Braunfels, Greifenstein, Münzenberg, Wiedenfels, und Sonnenwalde; General Commissar zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas, Sr. Kaiserl. Königl. apostolischen Majestät Rittmeister

The reports of the prince to the colonial directory in Germany show, however, that he understood the conditions of affairs in Texas; that he was active in the interests of the Verein and that he read correctly the motives of such men as Bourgeois d'Orvanne and Fischer. He was evidently a dreamer and thought of establishing in Texas a German State that would gain for the Fatherland all of the commercial advantages which had accrued to England through the East India Company. He understood thoroughly what sort of land was needed to carry out the aims of the Verein and might have obtained it at much more favorable terms, had the German noblemen listened to his requests.

Fischer had caused the Verein to think that they had enough money to carry out the undertaking. They had not reckoned on prices in Texas. Prince Solms resigned his position and on February 24, 1845, Baron von Meusebach was appointed his successor.<sup>91</sup> He landed at Galveston in April, 1845, and journeyed from there to Indianola and then to New Braunfels. On his way, he was met by Germans who presented complaints against the society.<sup>92</sup> All writers credit Meusebach with having been a man of great ability. Roemer met him while in Texas and accompanied him on his expedition into the Indian country. Roemer says that the new commissary-general began his activity with the carrying-out of a more regular business policy and a more carefully systematized method of keeping the accounts.<sup>93</sup> Kapp, who visited Texas in the early fifties, says he was a man of heavy calibre and that of all who took part in the undertaking, he was the best educated and the most practical.<sup>94</sup> His real name was Ottfried Hans Freiherr von Meusebach. He

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im König Friedrich August von Sachsen 3. Cuirassier-Regiment, Grosskreuz des königl. Hannoverischen Guelphen-, des Herzogel. Braunschweig'sehen Ordens Heinrichs des Löwen, und Ritter des Ordens von St. Georg von Lueca. Cf. letter quoted *supra*.

<sup>91</sup> Roemer, *Aus und über Amerika*, Vol. II, p. 260.

<sup>92</sup> *Answer to Interrogatories*, p. 5.

<sup>93</sup> *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 46.

<sup>94</sup> Roemer, p. 25.

<sup>95</sup> For characterization see Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, Vol. II, p. 263ff.

was born in the Duchy of Nassau, May 26, 1812. He studied jurisprudence and political science and finance in Bonn and Halle. He had held many offices in Germany before leaving for Texas.<sup>95</sup> His father had been a jurist of high order, and Meusebach himself had been government assessor in Potsdam. He was a diplomatist of great skill. This is shown by his treaty with the Indians and his relations with the Anglo-Americans. He knew how to create respect and obedience. He was looked up to by the Indians. He was unpopular at first with the Germans, but later they came to know his real worth, and in 1852 they chose him as State Senator. He became a naturalized American citizen under the name of John O. Meusebach. He bore himself well under the heaviest stress of circumstances. Kapp says, had he remained in Germany, he would have risen to the highest position.

On May 15, 1845, Solms-Braunfels left, and when von Meusebach entered upon his work, he found affairs at a crisis. A number of colonists were on their way to Texas. The money had been spent. As soon as he arrived, he demanded an accounting from the treasurer of the Verein, which that official was unable to give.<sup>96</sup> The various officers of the society had in the name of the Verein given notes and bills of credit at their own free will. Prince Solms had left for Galveston shortly before the new director's arrival. In that city, Meusebach arranged for a credit of \$10,000 and made the prince promise, that, on his arrival in Germany, he would have Count von Castell arrange for a further credit of \$20,000. The Verein had promised transportation for \$4 per person. It cost the society from \$20 to \$30 per person. They promised to build houses for \$24 and a house could not be built under \$100. On his return from Galveston, Meusebach found that some \$20,000 (\$19,460.02) had been spent by Solms-Braunfels.<sup>97</sup> In July, 1845, the second

<sup>95</sup> For biography cf. *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 56. (*Fest-Ausgabe*, hereafter, will be used in place of *Entwickelungs-Geschichte*.)

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>97</sup> An account by Meusebach himself will be found in *Answers to Interrogatories*, in case 396, D. C. McCulloch County, Austin, 1894; also cf. *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 46ff.



lot of immigrants arrived. In a letter dated November 30, 1845, Soergel states that the Verein secretary, Dr. Hill, told him that 2500 persons, in seventeen ships were leaving for Texas.<sup>98</sup> In a later letter he says that from 5,000 to 6,000 persons are about to emigrate under the auspices of the Verein.<sup>99</sup> On Meusebach's return, November 1, 1845, he received news that 4,304 emigrants were being sent from Germany. He was in new straits. The treasury was empty, and this large mass of emigrants was about to be thrust upon him. The directory in Germany sent him a credit of \$24,000 on a New Orleans banking house. Some 5,000 immigrants were to be landed on the coast and there was only a mere pittance with which to care for them. Meusebach figured the expenses to be about \$140,000 to care for and transport the immigrants.<sup>100</sup>

By January, 1846, 3,000 persons had landed at Indian Point.<sup>101</sup> From the middle of October, 1845, until the end of April, 1846, thirty-six ships landed at Galveston. Twelve were from Antwerp, and twenty-four from Bremen. These ships landed 5,247 persons.<sup>102</sup> The "Karl Wilhelm" was destroyed and one or two persons lost their lives. Some 2,500 reached New Braunfels and Friedrichsburg. A thousand were left at Indian Point, and on the road towards New Braunfels. Five hundred returned to Germany. Five hundred enlisted in the Mexican war under command of Captain Büchel, about 250 lost their lives at Indian Point, a hundred on the way to the settlements

<sup>98</sup> Soergel, A. H. *Für Auswanderungslustige!* Leipzig, 1847, p. 16.

<sup>99</sup> Letter dated Dec. 5, 1845. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>100</sup> The exact amount is:

For payment of debt .....	\$24,000.
" transportation of 4,304 immigrants .....	33,161.60
" support for 3 months @ 10c per day .....	45,000.
" houses .....	12,000.
" payment of money advanced by immigrants ..	26,067.

Total .....

Cf. *Answers to Interrogatories.*

<sup>101</sup> Letter of Jan. 7, 1846 (New Braunfels), in Bracht, p. 227.

<sup>102</sup> Letter of Aug. 9, 1846 (Bracht, p. 243). Roemer says the number was 5246: Roemer, p. 267.

and a hundred on their arrival in New Braunfels.<sup>100</sup> Ervendberg, who was pastor of the German Evangelical Church in New Braunfels, estimates the number who died at about 400.<sup>101</sup> Some had to stay six months along the sandy shore of the bay at Indian Point on account of lack of money. Kapp states the number who died in the summer of 1846, on the way, at New Braunfels and at Friedrichsburg, as 1200.<sup>102</sup> Many of the people had suffered greatly in their trans-atlantic voyage. They were huddled together in the holds, steerage, and on the decks of the ships like sheep, and when they reached shore, they were in a very weak condition. They were covered with vermin. Hundreds died soon after they landed.<sup>103</sup> The condition of affairs became frightful. Some 3,000 were left at Indianola. The shore was covered with improvised tents and huts, chests and coffers, clothing, etc. Roemer says it would remind one of an Oriental caravan.<sup>104</sup> Alwin Soergel was on one of the last ships to enter Galveston, in 1845. He<sup>105</sup> describes his experiences in letters which he wrote home. After a journey of two months, only 2,300 out of 2,500 passengers in all the vessels, entered Galveston. They were then transported to Indian Point. It consisted of a few houses. Barracks of boards were built which afforded refuge for only a few. The rest dwelt in tents. They had to wait more than six months along the low, unhealthy shore. The war with Mexico had taken all means of transportation. The price for transportation rose to enormous sums. There was not enough money among the poor immi-

<sup>100</sup> Letter quoted, Bracht, p. 244.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, p. 275.

<sup>103</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, June 19, 1847. This has reference to immigrants of 1846.

<sup>104</sup> Roemer, p. 60.

<sup>105</sup> For accounts of following, cf. Soergel, Alwin H., *Für Auswanderungslustige!* Leipzig, 1847, pp. 21ff. (Soergel was an eye-witness of accounts he narrates); also cf. Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, p. 267ff. Based mainly on Soergel; also, article by H. Seele in *Texas Jahrbuch* for 1884; Eickhoff, *In der Neuen Heimath*, p. 327ff; also *N. Y. Tribune*, Jan. 20, 1855; *Houston Telegraph*, June 19, 1847, article entitled, Emigrants of 1846. All are substantially the same. Kapp says this condition was no exaggeration. He was in the colony in 1852.

grants to purchase teams. Rain and north wind poured through the dwellings. Wood and water were lacking. They were surrounded by swamps in which mosquitoes swarmed, and fevers arose. Rum holes increased their misery and changed men into beasts. Many fell a prey to epidemics.<sup>109</sup> The summer broke out with its terrible heat. Whole families betook themselves on the road to New Braunfels. The whole road was lined with corpses of dead or with dying men. In many instances the settlers along the way were forced to bury the bodies of immigrants who had been left by their companions to die by the wayside unpitied and alone.<sup>110</sup> Wolves and vultures followed them along their routes. In the day was heard the cry of beasts of prey; in the night, the howl of wolves and the shrill cry of the Comanches. One man left his wife to perish and later was left by his companions. Arrived in New Braunfels, conditions became worse. The place was without means of sustenance. The poor peasants tried to forget their misery by dancing and drinking. It is even stated that men were torn from their wives and buried before they were dead.<sup>111</sup> All human ties were broken. This was the condition of affairs that von Meusebach had to face. In the summer of '46, there were still several hundred persons camping on the coast. Things changed. The last immigrant was brought to New Braunfels. Camps were pitched on both sides of the Comal and Guadalupe rivers. Horses, oxen and cattle grazed beside hut or tent.

In March, 1846, Meusebach raised money on credit, and arranged for the transportation of the immigrants. In the middle of December, '45, he sent thirty-six men to break a way north of the Pedernales. In the beginning of 1846, block-houses were built. This became the later settlement of Friedrichsburg. On April 23, 1846, the first settlers were sent thither. They consisted of about twelve persons.<sup>112</sup> On Friday, May 8, 1846, they reached their new home. As soon as possible the com-

<sup>109</sup> Kapp says two-thirds died of epidemic. Soergel says one-third.

<sup>110</sup> This is the statement of the *Houston Telegraph*, June 19, 1847.

<sup>111</sup> This was in Friedrichsburg.

<sup>112</sup> *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 50.

missioner-general sent hither the new arrivals from Germany. He became acquainted with a certain Dr. Schubert and placed him in command of the new settlement. Schubert built here a wretched inn and made a journey to the limits of the land. This was in the territory of the Comanche Indians. In April, Meusebach betook himself to the Farm "Nassau" to obtain grain and supplies for the people in Indianola and New Braunfels but without any result.<sup>113</sup> The Verein representative in Galveston, von Kläner, was informed of the condition of affairs. He wrote to Germany, and \$60,000 was sent September 7, 1846, to the administrator of the Verein, in Texas.<sup>114</sup> With this, the condition of affairs was changed for the better. Friedrichsburg numbered 1,000 souls by August, 1846.<sup>115</sup> The danger from the Comanches caused Meusebach to go himself, January, 1847, from Friedrichsburg to the Llano river. He signed a treaty with the Indians.<sup>116</sup> Ferdinand Roemer, the scientist, accompanied him on this expedition.<sup>117</sup> Meusebach had, previously to this expedition, given his resignation. He gave up his office July 20, 1847, after his three months' expedition among the Indians was completed.<sup>118</sup> During the winter of 1845, the German Protestant Society built the first church out of cedar wood. This was dedicated March 22, 1846. This society was the first German protestant association and the first incorporated company in Comal county.<sup>119</sup>

H. Spies became Meusebach's successor in office as director general. Spies and Dr. Herff had arranged a special contract with the Verein for the settlement of a new colony. They paid the Verein 30,000 gulden (\$12,000).<sup>120</sup> During Meusebach's administration, the small settlements of Castell, Leininger and Meerholz, on the Llano river, were founded. Castell is

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60ff.

<sup>114</sup> Rosenberg, p. 19.

<sup>115</sup> *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 51.

<sup>116</sup> Letter of Bracht, Aug. 9, 1846, p. 243.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. account in *Houston Telegraph*, May 10, 1847.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Roemer's account, Roemer, Ch. 18 and 19.

<sup>119</sup> *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 52.

<sup>120</sup> *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 52.

to-day quite a settlement. Leiningen is a small settlement. Meerholz has disappeared.<sup>121</sup> The so-called "Darmstaedter" settlement was laid out on the north bank of the Llano under the administration of Spies. It was a communistic colony, and was named "Bettina" after the author, Bettina von Arnim.<sup>122</sup> Besides Spies, G. Dresel was made general business agent of the society. He had charge of the finances of the society.<sup>123</sup> Spies had the idea that Schubert (his real name was Struberg) wished to obtain the "Farm Nassau" by force. A combat ensued in which a man was killed. Spies and his confederates were tried for murder. This cost the Verein a large amount.<sup>124</sup> On March 2, 1850, the "Gesangverein Germania" was established. Under its auspices, the first public holiday was celebrated July 4, of that year.<sup>125</sup> The New Braunfels "Zeitung" was established under the editorship of Ferdinand Lindheimer, and its first number appeared November 12, 1852.<sup>126</sup> During the same year, Spies was succeeded by L. Bene.<sup>127</sup> The inhabitants of New Braunfels were in dispute over the title to their lands. The first number of the "Zeitung" contained a call of a committee of citizens to defend their rights against the Bastrop claimants and other separate claims.<sup>128</sup> By 1853, the Verein gave up all its relations in Texas. Bene had sold the Farm Nassau for \$15,000 to Otto von Roeder. Later, the farm was sold for \$500 to cover a Verein debt. Roeder lost all.<sup>129</sup> The Verein had measured 4,500 square miles of land at a cost of \$80,000. Half of this was reserved for the State. The Union lost possession of all its lands. In 1855, Fischer had gone to Europe and had persuaded the people that he could bring affairs

<sup>121</sup> Rosenberg, p. 20.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. account, *The Communistic Colony of Bettina, Texas Hist. Quarterly*, III, 33.

<sup>123</sup> *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 53.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *Jahrbuch* as *supra*.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Rosenberg, p. 22.

<sup>128</sup> *Jahrbuch* as *supra*.

<sup>129</sup> Rosenberg, p. 23.

into a flourishing condition again. He was appointed general agent of the society and was recognized as such by the Texan government.<sup>130</sup> His first official act was an attempt, June 15, 1857, to legalize the suspended "Headrights" which had been given up by the legislature of 1852.

The Verein had great difficulty in maintaining its rights to the land grants which it had received, both from the Texan Republic and from the government of the State of Texas. The commissioners appointed by the latter issued grants of 1,735,200 acres to the Verein. Fisher and Miller had assigned on December 30, 1845, its principal interest in the contract to the German Emigration Society, as the Verein was officially designated by the Texan government.

The expenses of the enterprise were enormous. The surveys cost the Society alone \$120,000. The Society became badly in debt and the legislature of Texas passed a law Jan. 21, 1850, declaring that creditors of the company should have a lien, in the nature of a mortgage, upon the premium lands of the company. The company was permitted to receive its share of the land direct from the state.

On September 15, 1853, the company assigned and transferred to their Texan creditors all their property in Texas and all rights accruing to them by the colonization contract. After the creditors had thus gained the land from the Verein, the legislature took it from the former and granted it to the colonists or their assignees. (Statutes of Texas Vol. 5.)

During the year 1847, 8,000 Germans landed at the port of Galveston, and during three months previous to July, 1847, 4,020 Germans had landed at that port.<sup>131</sup>

In April, 1848, there was founded at Biebrich, the "*Deutsche Colonisationsgesellschaft für Texas*."<sup>132</sup> The Graf von Castell was made president of this society. A certain Ludwig Martin was the moving spirit. He says that the members consisted of himself, whom he styles advocate of Freiburg, Graf von Cas-

<sup>130</sup> Rosenberg, p. 22.

<sup>131</sup> Löher, p. 273.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Roemer, p. 230.

tell, and railroad director, Ubaghs. It offered roseate promises similar to those of the "Adelsverein," if that were possible.<sup>122</sup> It offered for a capital of \$280, 100 acres of land in Bexar County, or along the coast, including a log house; also a herd of cattle so that the possessor could begin his labor immediately. Fifty dollars was to be paid in Germany; \$100 in the grant, and the rest on time. An agent was to accompany the emigrant to the place of abode. This came to naught, and simply shows that the idea of the Verein still held root.

After the catastrophe of the Adelsverein, emigration stopped until the Revolution of '48. High officers, State officials, aristocrats, teachers, merchants and peasants came in great numbers.<sup>124</sup> Besides the singing society, numerous societies were formed. The colony now became flourishing. Mills were established, and the industrious German people soon forgot the troubles of the forties.

"Und haben sie hier nicht Veilchen duft,  
Sie haben doch Rosen zu schenken,—  
Und texanische Luft ist freie Luft  
Das wollen wir freudig bedenken."<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Martin, Ludwig: *Der nord amerikanische Freistaat Texas, ein Handbuch für solche, die dahin insbesondere aber nach dem der deutschen Colonisationsgesellschaft für Texas angehörigen, in der County Bexar gelegenen Land bezirk auswandern wollen.* von Ludwig Martin, Landbesitzer im Staate Texas und Mitglied der deutschen Colonisationsgesellschaft für Texas. Wiesbaden, 1848.

<sup>123</sup> Mgebroff, pp. 1-7.

<sup>124</sup> Nies, Conrad, *Aus westlichem Weite.* Leipzig, 1905.

(To be Continued.)

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN COAST OF  
LOUISIANA  
AND  
THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT.

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THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

The first German upon the lower Mississippi was one of the last companions of the French explorer, La Salle. As the founding of the first settlement of Germans on the lower Mississippi also took place at a very early period in the history of Louisiana, we will first cast a glance into the history of the discovery of the Mississippi and the taking possession of the northern gulf coast by the French.

With the second voyage of Columbus (1493) and the discovery of Cuba, Hayti, Porto Rico, Dominica, Jamaica, and Guadeloupe, Spain had become the mistress of the Gulf of Mexico. Twenty years later Ponce de Leon came to Florida, and in 1519 Cortez began the conquest of the Aztec empire of Mexico. In the same year another Spaniard, by the name of Piñeda, sailed from Jamaica to circumnavigate Florida, which at that time was still thought to be an island; and as he always sailed along the northern gulf coast, he finally reached Mexico. For a long time it was believed that Piñeda on this voyage had discovered the Mississippi and called it "Río del Espiritu Santo"; but Hamilton, in his "Colonial Mobile," maintains that the river discovered by Piñeda was not the Mississippi, but the Mobile River, and that Piñeda passed the mouth of the Mississippi with-



out noticing it, it being hidden by sand banks, drift wood, and bushes.

In 1528 an expedition to Florida led by Panfilo de Narvaez failed, but, in April, 1536, four of its members, among whom was Gabeza de Vaca, reached Mexico by land after many years of wandering. These men must have crossed the Mississippi on their way to Mexico, and from their voyage and that of Pineda date the claims of Spain for the ownership of the whole northern gulf coast from Florida to Mexico.

Induced by de Vaca's glowing descriptions of the country, De Soto, in 1539, began his adventurous expedition from Florida into the interior. About the 30th degree of latitude, he discovered the Mississippi (April, 1541) and found his grave in it; whereupon Moscoso, with the remnants of the expedition, floated down the Mississippi and reached the Spanish possessions on the gulf coast. This discovery was without any practical results, however, as no second attempt to reach the mouth of the Mississippi was made for the next 140 years.

Meanwhile the French had set foot on Canada (Port Royal, later called Annapolis, 1605; Quebec, 1608) and discovered the upper Mississippi. Many years, however, passed before La Salle, coming from Canada, followed the great river southward in its whole length, reached its mouth, and there, on the 9th of April, 1682, took possession of the Mississippi valley for France, calling it "Louisiana," in honor of the king of France, Louis XIV. Then he returned by the same way to Canada, and thence went to France to report on his discoveries and submit his plan to establish communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico by means of the Mississippi, and to secure the Indian trade of these vast regions by a chain of forts.

La Salle's propositions found favor with the king of France, and on the 24th of July, 1684, he sailed from La Rochelle for the Gulf of Mexico, intending thence to enter the Mississippi and to found on its banks a French establishment. He brought with him a flotilla of four vessels (Le Joli, L'Aimable, La Belle and a small ketch) under the direct command of Beaujeu. On this

voyage a stop was made in the port of Petit Gouave in San Domingo, where La Salle was quite sick. San Domingo was then and had been for many years the headquarters of the buccaneers, whose calling was at that time considered a quite legitimate business, the riches of the Spanish silver ships and the many obstructions to commerce in Central and South America having, so to speak, provoked the other nations to smuggling and piracy. Merchants and many other highly respectable people of Europe furnished and sent out privateers, and rejoiced at their golden harvests. French, English and Dutch adventurers soon congregated in San Domingo, and these were joined by many Germans who had grown up in the wild times of the Thirty Years' War, and could not find their way back to peaceful occupations. In this company La Salle's men gave themselves up to riotous living, in consequence of which many fell victims to disease, and La Salle was compelled to enlist new men.

#### THE FIRST GERMAN ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI.

Among the new men engaged in San Domingo by La Salle was a German, a buccaneer, an artillerist, who was known only by the name of "Hans;" *i. e.*, Johannes, John. The French wrote his name "Hiens," but Hennepin, a Dutch contemporary, calls him "Hans," and all agree that he was a German.

The record of La Salle's attempt to find the mouth of the Mississippi River from the Gulf of Mexico reveals a series of quarrels between the commanders, of misfortunes, errors and malice.

One of the four ships of his flotilla laden with thirty tons of ammunition and utensils and tools for his new colony, was captured by the Spaniards near San Domingo, because Beaujeu refused to follow the course recommended by La Salle.

The mouth of the Mississippi was not found by this expedition, principally because La Salle, on coming down from Canada and discovering it, in 1682, had committed the almost incon-

ceivable mistake of ascertaining only the latitude of the mouth of the river, but not its longitude.

The expedition landed in Matagorda Bay, in Texas (February, 1685), where the frigate *L'Aimable*, on attempting to enter a river, was stranded. Joutel, an eyewitness, says:

"Circumstances reported by the ship's crew and those who saw the management were infallible tokens and proofs that the mischief had been done designedly, which was one of the blackest and most detestable actions man could be guilty of." (Joutel's Journal, Stiles, page 83.)

Then Beaujeu abandoned La Salle, left with La Joli for France, and took the crew of *L'Aimable* with him, thus violating his agreement with La Salle, and leaving the latter behind with the *La Belle* with eight cannon and not a single cannon ball. Finally, *La Belle* ran aground and was also lost.

La Salle then built a fort in Texas (Fort St. Louis) for the protection of his people, and from there made several attempts to find the "fatal river," as he called the Mississippi.

On one of these expeditions, which brought them up to the Coenis Indians, Hans, the German buccaneer, almost lost his life. They were crossing a river, when Hans, "a German from Wittenburg" (so Father Anastasius, a priest accompanying the expedition, calls him) got stuck so fast in the mud "that he could scarcely get out." La Salle named the river "Hans River," and in the accompanying map, printed in 1720, the name may be found inscribed in the French spelling "*Rivière Hiens*."

On the 7th of January, 1687, the last expedition from the Texas fort was begun. This was to be a desperate attempt to march with a picked crew of seventeen men from Texas overland to Canada to get succor, and on the way there to find the "fatal river." Among the selected seventeen was Hans, the German buccaneer, a proof that La Salle thought well of him. Twenty persons, among whom were seven women, were left behind in the Texas fort, where they eventually perished.

For several months this brave little band of seventeen men, marching again toward the territory of the Coenis Indians, cut

their way through the wilderness, until they came to the southern branch of the Trinity River, where, owing to the tyranny of their leader, a conspiracy was formed among a portion of the men, and on the 18th of March, 1687, La Salle was killed by Duhaut, a Frenchman, who wanted to succeed him in the command of the expedition.

In this plan Duhaut, of whom all seem to have been afraid, was openly defied by Hans, the German buccaneer, and Father Anastasius, an eye witness, reports as follows:

"Those who most regretted the murder of their commander and leader had sided with Hiens, who, seizing his opportunity, two days after sought to punish crime by crime. In our presence he shot the murderer of La Salle through the heart with a pistol. He died on the spot, unshriven, unable even to utter the names of Jesus and Mary. Hiens also wished to kill L'Archevêque and thus completely avenge the death of La Salle, but Joutel conciliated him."

When the little band approached the French post on the Arkansas River, where, Hans thought, punishment was awaiting him for the murder of Duhaut, the German buccaneer resolved to join the Coenis Indians, whom he had helped to fight a hostile tribe; but, before leaving his companions, he demanded from them a Latin certificate to the effect that he was innocent of La Salle's death. This he received.

Only a few of La Salle's last companions reached Canada. Two of them, Father Anastasius and Joutel, published accounts of La Salle's last voyage, which have been followed in this narrative.



which reason he sailed further west, discovered Mobile Bay on the last of January, 1699, and, leaving his big ships in the harbor of Ship Island, went with two barges in search of the mouth of the Mississippi, which he entered on the second day of March. After ascending the river as far as the village of the Oumas, opposite the mouth of Red River, he sent his barges back to the mouth of the Mississippi, while he with two canoes entered Bayou Manchac, discovered Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, and reached Ship Island by this route in advance of his barges.

Despairing of getting his big ships over the bar of the Mississippi, he resolved to make a settlement on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico; and on the 8th of April, 1699, active work was begun at the present site of the town of Ocean Springs, Mississippi, on "Fort Maurepas," the first French establishment in Louisiana.

The main settlement, however, was "Fort Louis de la Louisiane," founded in 1702, "sixteen leagues from Massacre (Dauphine) Island, at the second bluff" on the Mobile River.

"Sixteen leagues from Massacre Island at the second bluff is at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff. Near there Creoles still fondly point out the site of 'Vieux Fort,' and there French maps, as early as 1744, place a 'vieux fort, detruit.' A well under a hickory tree still marks the spot, and bullets, canister, crockery, large-headed spike, and a brass ornament were picked up by the present writer near the river edge of the level bluff as late as the summer of 1897. There, then, on a wooded spot, twenty feet above the river, hardly deserving the name of bluff, save above ordinary high water, was Fort de la Louisiane, commanding the wide, turbid river. It was not one of the many Forts St. Louis. Like Louisiana, it was named from Louis XIV., rather than for the sainted Louis IX." (Hamilton, "Colonial Mobile," page 38.)

In 1709 a great rise in the river occurred, which overflowed both the fort and the little town that had sprung up around it. A change of base was then decided upon, and "Fort de la Louisiane" was built on the site of the present city of Mobile. In 1710 the old fort was abandoned.

Here, at the old and at the new Fort de la Louisiane, or rather on Dauphine Island, at the entrance of the harbor of Mobile, where the large vessels from Europe discharged their passengers and cargoes, around the Bay of Biloxi and on Ship Island (Isle aux Vaisseaux) in the Gulf of Mexico, the life of the colony of Louisiana centered for the next twenty years. Here the principal events took place, and here also landed the first Germans.

On the accompanying map "Vieux Biloxi" means the old "Fort Maurepas," now Ocean Springs. Opposite is "Le Biloxi," the present Biloxi, Mississippi, or "New Biloxi," at first also called "Fort Louis."



#### A GRAVE ERROR.

In the beginning of the colony the French committed the grave error of not giving any attention to agriculture. Two years after the founding of Mobile, in 1704, the civilian part of the population of Louisiana consisted of only twenty-three families, with ten children, who lived along the shore in huts with palmetto or straw roofs, fishing and hunting. It is true that they also had little gardens around their huts, but for provisions they relied on the vessels from France. They pretended that nothing could be grown on the sandy soil of the

gulf coast, and they complained not only of the soil, but of the water also. Says Dupratz (1,268):

"The soil and the water of Mobile are not only barren as regards the propagation of plants and fishes; the nature of the water and of the soil contributes also to the prevention of the increase of the animals; even the women have experienced this. I have it from Madam Hubert, the wife of the 'Commissionnaire Ordonnateur,' that at the time when the French were at that post there were seven or eight sterile women who all became mothers from the time when they established themselves with their husbands on the banks of the Mississippi, whence the capital had been transferred."

The water and the soil of the gulf coast have not changed, and there is no complaint as to the birth rate now; considerable truck farming is done in the neighborhood of Mobile and on the back bay of Biloxi, and the Indians in the territory complained of always raised corn, beans, and many other things.

The truth is that the first colonists did not want to work, and the governors of that period complained bitterly of that fact. The people expected to find gold, silver, and pearls as the Spaniards had done in Mexico.<sup>1</sup> They also traded with Canadian "coureurs de bois," hunters who came down the Mississippi, killing buffaloes, and selling hides and beaver skins. The French also expected to do a great deal of business with the Spaniards in Mexico.

Since the expected mineral treasures of the gulf coast, however, have not been discovered even to-day—since the Spaniards, who claimed the whole northern gulf coast for themselves, were unwilling to trade with the French—since the trade with the Indians and with the Canadian hunters was too insignificant,—since France, whose treasury had been emptied by Louis XIV. could not do much for the colony—and, to make the worst come to the worst, since yellow fever was introduced from San Domingo in 1701<sup>2</sup> and again in 1704,<sup>3</sup> the little colony of

<sup>1</sup> The name "Pearl River," which now forms the boundary line between the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, is attributed to the fact that some inferior pearls were said to have been found in that river.

<sup>2</sup> Sauvole, the first governor, died of fever in that year.

<sup>3</sup> The Chevalier Tonti died in Mobile of yellow fever in 1704.



Louisiana was for many years in a precarious condition and at times on the very verge of ruin.

Thus the colony continued until, in 1712, Crozat, a French merchant, took in hand its management as a commercial venture. He received the trade monopoly for fifteen years, but after the first five years he found himself compelled to ask the regent of France to rescind his contract, which request was granted.

THE "WESTERN COMPANY" AND THE "COMPAGNIE DES INDES"—  
JOHN LAW.

Then came, in 1717, the "Western Company," called after 1719, "La Compagnie des Indes," the leading spirit of which was the notorious Scotch financier, John Law. This company received the trade monopoly for twenty-five years. It was granted the right to issue an unlimited number of shares of stock, and the privilege not only of giving away land on conditions, but also of selling it outright. For these and other considerations the company obligated itself to bring into the colony during the life of its franchise at least 6000 white people and 3000 negroes.

The shares of the company were "guaranteed" by its assets. These were: first, the supposedly inexhaustible mineral treasures of Louisiana; secondly, the fabulous wealth of its soil, which was at that time not known at all, as "nothing could be grown on the sandy soil of the gulf coast," the only part then inhabited; and, thirdly, the immense revenues to be derived from the trade monopoly. In order to develop all these sources of wealth to their fullest capacity, agriculture was now also to be introduced on a grand scale. For this purpose large tracts of land, concessions, were now given to such rich men in France as would obligate themselves to bring the necessary number of people from Europe to till the soil.

One of the largest concessioners was John Law, the president of the company, who caused two concessions to be given to himself. The larger one was on the lower Arkansas River,

on which he obligated himself to settle many people, for whose protection against the Indians he promised to keep a company of dragoons. His second concession was seven *lieues* below New Orleans, on the Mississippi River, below English Turn, and adjoining one of the concessions to the minister of war, Le Blanc, whose principal possessions were on the Yazoo River.

As a shrewd business man, which he no doubt was, John Law knew that, to make his venture a success, he needed not only capital but also people able and willing to toil for him; and, as he knew from the reports of the former governors how little adapted to agriculture the former French colonists had proven themselves, he resolved to engage for his own concessions Germans from the country on both sides of the river Rhine, and from Switzerland.

A great agitation was now begun, partly to induce rich people to take shares in the general enterprise and buy land for their own account, and partly to entice poor people to become *engagés* (hired field hands for the company or for the different concessioners). After a while, land was also to be given to the poor *engagés* to enable them also to get rich.

#### A GERMAN DESCRIPTION OF LOUISIANA IN THE YEAR 1720.

About this time, pamphlets in several languages were printed, containing extracts from letters of people who had already settled in Louisiana, and giving glowing descriptions of the country. Such a pamphlet, in German, which, perhaps, came to Louisiana with one of the German pioneer families, was found by the author some twenty-five years ago in a little book shop in Exchange Alley, New Orleans, and at his suggestion it was bought for the Fisk Library, where it can be seen. It was printed by J. Friedrich Gleditschen's seel. Sohn, Leipsic, 1720, and bears the title:

Ausführliche  
Historische und Geographische  
**Beschreibung**  
Des an dem grossen Flusse  
**MISSISSIPPI**  
in Nord-America gelegenen herrlichen Landes  
**LOUISIANA;**

In welches  
die neu-aufgerichtete Französische grosse  
**Indianische Compagnie**  
Colonien zu schicken angefangen;  
Worbey zugleich  
einige Reflexionen über die weit-hinaus-  
sehende Dessen gedachter Compagnie,  
Und  
des darüber entstandenen  
**Actien = Handels**  
eröffnet werden.

Andere Auflage.  
Mit neuen Beylagen und Anmerkungen  
vermehret.

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Leipzig bey J. Fried. Gleditschens soel. Sohn,  
1 7 2 0.

After stating that "through the adventurer 'Christophum Columbum' many of those Europeans had been led to leave 'Europam' for 'Americam,' especially for those then still undiscovered countries," the author describes the boundaries of Louisiana as follows:

"The boundaries of Louisiana are towards east Florida and Carolina, towards north Virginia and Canada. The northern limits are entirely unknown. In 1700, a Canadian, M. le Sieur, ascended the Mississippi over 700 miles. But there is still another district known of over 100 miles, for which reason it is almost to be supposed that this country extends to the 'Polum Arcticum.'"

The soil, the author says, is "extremely pleasant." Four crops a year can be raised. The abundance of the country cannot be easily imagined. There is also game, which every person is permitted to kill: leopards, bears, buffaloes, deer, whole swarms of Indian hens, snipe, turtle-doves, partridges, wood-pigeons, quail, beavers, martens, wild cats, parrots, buzzards, and ducks. Deer is the most useful game, and the French carry on a great "negotium" in doeskins, which they purchase from the savages. Ten to twelve leaden bullets are given in exchange for such a skin.

The principal things, however, are the mines:

"The land is filled with gold, silver, copper, and lead mines. If one wishes to hunt for mines, he need only go into the country of the Natchitoches. There we will surely 'draw pieces of silver mines out of the earth.' After these mines we will hunt for herbs and plants for the apothecaries. The savages will make them known to us. Soon we shall find healing remedies for the most dangerous wounds, yes, also, so they say, infallible ones for the fruits of love."

Of the spring floods in "Februario and Martio" the author says that they are sometimes so high that the water rises over 100 feet, so that the tops of the pine trees on the seashore can no longer be seen.

About New Orleans a man writes to his wife in Europe:

"I betook myself to where they are beginning now to build the capital, New Orleans. Its circumference will be one mile. The houses are poor and low, as at home with us in the country. They are covered with large pieces of bark and strong reeds. Everybody dresses as he pleases, but all very poorly. One's outfit consists of a suit of clothes, bed, table, and trunks. Tapestry and fine beds are entirely unknown. The people sleep the whole night in the open air. I am as safe in the most distant part of the town as in a citadel. Although I live among savages and Frenchmen, I am in no danger. People trust one another so much that they leave gates and doors open."

The productiveness of the investment in land, and the value of the shares are thus made clear to the people:

"If one gets 300 acres of land for 100 Reichstalers, then three acres cost one Taler; but, if the benefit to be derived and other 'prerogatives' of such lands are considered then an acre of this land, even if not cultivated, is worth about 100 Talers. From this basis it follows that 300 acres, which, as stated already, cost 100 Talers when purchased, are really worth 30,000 Talers. For this reason one can easily understand why these shares may yet rise very high."

No wonder that the agitation on both banks of the river Rhine, from Switzerland to Holland, bore fruit, and that thousands of people got themselves ready to emigrate to Louisiana.

#### TEN THOUSAND GERMANS ON THE WAY TO LOUISIANA.

German historians state that, as a result of this agitation, 10,000 Germans emigrated to Louisiana. This seems a rather large number of people to be enticed by the promoter's promises to leave their fatherland and emigrate to a distant country; but we must consider the pitiable condition under which these people lived at home. No part of Germany had suffered more through the terrible "Thirty Years' War" (1618-1648), than the country on the Rhine, and especially the Palatinate; and after the Thirty Years' War came the terrible period of Louis XIV., during which large portions of Alsace and Lorraine, with the city of Strassburg, were forcibly and against the protestations of the people taken away from the German empire, and the Palatinate particularly was devastated in the most terrible manner. Never before nor afterwards were such barbarous deeds perpetrated as by Turenne, Melac, and other French generals in the Palatinate; and whether French troops invaded Germany or Germans marched against the French, it was always the Palatinate and the other countries on both banks of the Rhine that suffered most through war and its fearful consequences; pestilence, famine, and often also religious persecution,—for the ruler of a country then often prescribed which religion his subjects must follow.

These people on the Rhine had at last lost courage, and, as

in 1709/10, at the time of the great famine, 15,000 inhabitants of the Palatinate had listened to the English agents and had gone down the Rhine to England to seek passage for the English colonies in America, so they were again only too eager to listen to the Louisiana promoter, promising them peace, political and religious freedom, and wealth in the new world. So they went forth, not only from the Palatinate, but also from Alsace, Lorraine, Baden, Württemberg, the electorates of Mayence and Treves (Mainz and Trier), and even from Switzerland, some of whose sons were already serving in the Swiss regiments of Halwyl and Karer, sent by France to Louisiana.

The statement that 10,000 Germans left their homes for Louisiana is also supported by unimpeachable French testimony. The Jesuit Charlevoix, who came from Canada to Louisiana in December, 1721, and passed "the mournful wrecks" of the settlement on John Law's grant on the Arkansas River, mentions in his letter "these 9,000 Germans, who were raised in the Palatinate."

#### HOW MANY OF THESE 10,000 GERMANS REACHED LOUISIANA?

Only a small portion of these 10,000 Germans ever reached the shores of Louisiana. We read that the roads leading to the French ports of embarkation were covered with Germans, but that many broke down on their journey from hardships and privations. In the French ports, moreover, where no preparations had been made for the care of so many strangers, and where, while waiting for the departure of the vessels, the emigrants lay crowded together for months, and were insufficiently fed, epidemic diseases broke out among them and carried off many. Indeed, the church registers of Louisiana contain proofs of this fact. In the old marriage records, which always give the names of the parents of the contracting parties, the writer has often found the remark that the parents of the bride or of the bridegroom had died in the French ports of L'Orient, La Rochelle, or Brest. Others tired of waiting in port, and, perhaps,

becoming discouraged, gave up the plan of emigrating to Louisiana, looked for work in France, and remained there.

Then came the great loss of human life on the voyage across the sea. Such a voyage often lasted several months, long stops often being made in San Domingo, where the people were exposed to infection from tropical diseases. When even strong and healthy people succumbed to diseases brought on by the privations and hardships of such a voyage, by the miserable fare, by the lack of drinking water and disinfectants, and by the terrible odors in the ship's hold,—how must these emigrants have fared, weakened as they were from their journey through France and from sickness in the French ports? At one time only forty Germans landed in Louisiana of 200 who had gone on board. Martin speaks of 200 Germans who landed out of 1200.

Sickness and starvation, however, were not the only dangers of the emigrant of those days. At that time the buccaneers, who had been driven from Yucatan by the Spaniards in 1717, were yet in the Gulf of Mexico, and pursued European vessels because these, in addition to emigrants, usually carried large quantities of provisions, arms, ammunition, and money; and many a vessel that plied between France and Louisiana was never heard of again. In 1721 a French ship with "300 very sick Germans" on board was captured by buccaneers near the Bay of Samana in San Domingo.

After considering all this we are ready to approach the question of how many Germans really left France for Louisiana. Chevalier Guy Soniat Duffosat, a French naval officer who settled in Louisiana about 1751, in his "Synopsis of the History of Louisiana" (page 15) says, that 6000 Germans left Europe for Louisiana. This statement, if not correct, comes evidently so near to the truth that we may accept it.

To this it may be added that according to my own searching inquiries, and after the examination of all the well-known authorities, as well as of copies of many official documents until recently unavailable, I have come to the conclusion that of those 6000 Germans who left Europe for Louisiana, only about one-third—

2000—actually reached the shores of the colony. By this I do not mean to say that 2000 Germans settled in Louisiana, but only that 2000 reached the shores and were disembarked in Biloxi and upon Dauphine Island, in the harbor of Mobile. How many of them perished in those two places will be told in another part of this work.

#### FRENCH COLONISTS.

Besides John Law, who enlisted Germans, the Western Company and the other concessioners also carried on an agitation for the enlistment of *engagés*. How this was done, and what results were obtained with the French colonists, is described by the Jesuit Charlevoix, an eye witness, who came to Louisiana in 1721 to report on the condition of the colony. He says:

"The people who are sent there are miserable wretches driven from France for real or supposed crimes, or bad conduct, or persons who have enlisted in the troops or enrolled as emigrants, in order to avoid the pursuit of their creditors. Both classes regard the country as a place of exile. Everything disheartens them; nothing interests them in the progress of a colony of which they are only members in spite of themselves." (Marbois, page 115.)

The Chevalier Champigny in his *Mémoire* (La Haye, 1776) expresses himself stronger:

"They gathered up the poor, mendicants and prostitutes, and embarked them by force on the transports. On arriving in Louisiana they were married and had lands assigned to them to cultivate, but the idle life of three-fourths of these folks rendered them unfit for farming. You cannot find twenty of these vagabond families in Louisiana now. Most of them died in misery or returned to France, bringing back such ideas which their ill success had inspired. The most frightful accounts of the country of the Mississippi soon began to spread among the public, at a time when German colonists were planting new and most successful establishments on the banks of the Mississippi, within five or seven leagues from New Orleans. This tract, still occupied by their descendants, is the best cultivated and most thickly settled part of the colony, and I regard the Germans and the Canadians as the founders of all our establishments in Louisiana."



Franz, in his "Kolonisation des Mississippitales" (Leipzig, 1906), writes:

"The company even kept a whole regiment of archers (bandouillers de Mississippi) which cleaned Paris of its rabble and adventurers, and received for this a fixed salary and 100 livres a head, and even honest people were not safe from them. Five thousand people are said to have disappeared from Paris in April, 1721, alone." (Page 124.)

And again:

"Prisoners were set free in Paris in September, 1719, and later, under the condition that they would marry prostitutes and go with them to Louisiana. The newly married couples were chained together and thus dragged to the port of embarkation." (Page 121.)

The complaints of the concessioners and of the company itself concerning this class of French immigrants and *engagés* were soon so frequent and so pressing, that the French government, in May, 1720, prohibited such deportations. This, however, did not prevent the shipping of a third lot of lewd women in 1721, the first and the second having been sent in 1719 and 1720.

#### ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST IMMIGRATION EN MASSE.

The first immigration en masse took place in the year 1718. There landed then in Louisiana, which at that time had only 700 inhabitants, on one day 800 persons, so that the population on that one day was more than doubled.

How many Germans were among these I cannot say; but, as several concessions are mentioned to which some of these immigrants were sent, and as the church registers of Louisiana mention names of Germans who served on these concessions, we may assume that there were some Germans among them.

In the spring and summer of 1719 immigration to Louisiana was suspended on account of the war which had broken out between France and Spain. The Louisiana troops took Pensacola from Spain, lost it again, and retook it. In front of Dauphine Island, in the harbor of Mobile, where there were some concessioners with their *engagés*, a Spanish flotilla appeared, shutting off the island for ten days. The crew of a

Spanish gunboat plundered the property of the concessioners lying on the shore, but were repulsed in a second attempt by the French soldiers, some Indians, and the people engaged by the concessioners.

In the fall of 1719 the French ship "Les Deux Frères" came to Ship Island with "a great number of Germans." The ship was laden with all sorts of merchandise and effects "which belonged to them." These people could not have been intended for John Law; for, judging from what they brought along with them, they must have been people of some means, who intended to become independent settlers.

#### A MISSTATEMENT.

This report is taken from "Relation Pénicaut." Pénicaut was a French carpenter who lived for twenty-two years (1699 to October, 1721) in the colony, and his "Relation" is an important source for the history of Louisiana. Mr. French, whose "Historical Collection of Louisiana" is well known, translated it and published it in the first volume of his "Louisiana and Florida." In this translation (N. Y., 1889, I., 151) we read concerning the German immigrants of the ship "Les Deux Frères," mentioned before, the following:

"This was the first installment of twelve thousand Germans purchased by the Western Company from one of the princes of Germany to colonize Louisiana."

This is not true. For in the first place, the original text of "Relation Pénicaut" which Margry printed in his volume V. does not contain a single word about an installment nor about a German prince who had sold his subjects to the Western Company; and secondly, people who come "with all sorts of merchandise and effects, which belong to them," are not people who have been sold.

In November, 1719, when the headquarters of the company were no longer on Dauphine Island, in the harbor of Mobile,<sup>4</sup> but had been again transferred to Fort Maurepas (Ocean

<sup>4</sup>A sand bar formed by a storm in 1717 having ruined the entrance to that harbor.

Springs), a part of this fort was burned,<sup>5</sup> whereupon the woods on the other side of the Biloxi Bay were cut down, and Dumont reports that "a company of stout German soldiers" were busy at that work. Whence these German soldiers came we are informed by the "*Mémoire pour Duvergè*" (Margry V., 616), where it is stated that a company of 210 Swiss "soldats ouvriers" had been sent to the colony. They cleared the land at the site of the present Biloxi, built a fort, houses, and barracks for officers and soldiers, magazines, and "even a cistern." This place was called "New Biloxi," and thither the *Compagnie des Indes*, on the 20th of December, 1720, decided to transfer its headquarters. Governor Bienville also took up his residence there on the 9th of September, 1721, but transferred it to New Orleans in the month of August, 1722.

From this time until the beginning of the Spanish period, in 1768, the Swiss formed an integral part of the French troops in Louisiana. There were always at least four companies of fifty men each in the colony. They regularly received new additions, and, at the expiration of their time of service, they usually took up a trade, or settled on some land contiguous to the German coast. It was even a rule to give annually land, provisions, and rations to two men from each Swiss company to facilitate their settling.

According to the church records of Louisiana (marriage and death registers), the great majority of these Swiss soldiers were Germans from all parts of the fatherland under Swiss or Alsatian officers. Of the latter, Philip Grondel, of Zabern, became celebrated as the greatest fighter and most feared duellist of the whole colony. He was made chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, and commander of the Halwyl regiment of Swiss soldiers.

As to the general reputation these Swiss-German soldiers established for themselves in Louisiana, it is interesting to read that

"Governor Kerlerec even begged that Swiss troops be sent to him in place of the French, not only on account of their superior

<sup>5</sup> A drunken sergeant dropping his lighted pipe had set fire to it.

discipline and fighting qualities, but because the colonists had as great a dread of the violence, cruelty, and debauchery of the troops ordinarily sent out from France as they had of the savages." (Albert Phelps' "Louisiana," page 95.)

In the beginning of the year 1720, says Pénicaut, seven ships came with more than 4000 persons, "French as well as Germans and Jews." They were the ships "La Gironde," "L'Eléphant," "La Loire," "La Seine," "Le Dromadaire," "La Traversier," and "La Vénus." As "Le Dromadaire" brought the whole outfit for John Law's concession, the staff of Mr. Elias,\* the Jewish business manager of Law, may have been on board this vessel. For the same reason we may assume that the German people on board, or at least a large part of them, were so-called "Law People."

On the 16th of September, 1720, the ship "Le Profond" brought more than 240 Germans "for the concession of Mr. Law,"<sup>1</sup> and on the 9th of November, 1720, the ship "La Marie" brought Mr. Levens, the second director of Law's concessions, and Mr. Maynard, "conducteur d'ouvriers."

The Germans who came on the seven ships mentioned by Pénicaut and those who arrived on board the "Le Profond" seem to have been the only ones of the thousands recruited for Law in Germany who actually reached the Arkansas River, traveling from Biloxi by way of the inland route—Lake Borgne, Lake Pontchartrain, Lake Maurepas, Amite River, Bayou Manchac and the Mississippi River.

#### HOW THE IMMIGRANTS WERE RECEIVED AND PROVIDED FOR. A TERRIBLE STATE OF AFFAIRS.

A rapid increase of the population, especially a doubling of it on one day, would at all times, even in a well regulated community, be a source of embarrassment; and it would need the most careful preparations and the purchasing and storing of a great quantity of provisions in order to solve the problem of subsistence in a satisfactory manner.

On Dauphine Island and on Biloxi Bay, nevertheless, where the officials of the Compagnie des Indes ruled, nothing was done

\*Terrage calls him "Elias Stultheus".

<sup>1</sup> La Harpe.

for the reception of so many newcomers. Everybody seems to have lived there like unto the lilies of the field: "They toiled not, neither did they spin." Nobody sowed, nobody harvested, and all waited for the provision ships from France and from San Domingo, which often enough did not arrive when needed most, so that the soldiers had to be sent out to the Indians in the woods to make a living there as best they could by fishing and hunting. Pénicaut says that the Indians, especially the Indian maidens, enjoyed these visits of the soldiers as much as the French did. This statement seems to be confirmed by the baptismal records of Mobile, where the writer found entries saying that Indian women "in the pains of childbirth" gave the names of the officers and soldiers whom they claimed as the fathers of their children. There are prominent names among these fathers.

Thus the poor immigrants were put on land where there was always more or less of famine, sometimes even of starvation, and where the provisions which the concessioners had brought with them to feed their own *engagés* were taken away from the ships by force to feed the soldiers, and the immigrants were told to subsist on what they might be able to catch on the beach, standing for the most part of the day in the salt water up to the waist—crabs, oysters, and the like—and on the corn which the Biloxi, the Pascagoula, the Chacta, and the Mobile Indians might let them have.

Governor Bienville repeatedly demanded that these immigrants should not be landed on the gulf coast at all, but should be taken up the Mississippi River to the place where he intended to establish his headquarters and build the city of New Orleans; because thence they could easily reach the concessions, a majority of which were on the banks of the Mississippi. But the question whether large vessels could enter and ascend the great river—the French directors pretended not to know this yet, although the colony had been in existence for about twenty years—and the little and the big quarrels between the directors and the governor, whom they would never admit to be right, did not permit this rational solution of the difficulty.

Furthermore, as a very large number of smaller boats, by

which the immigrants might easily have been taken to the concessions by the inland route through Lake Pontchartrain, had been allowed to go to wreck on the sands of Biloxi, the newcomers, especially those who arrived in 1721, had to stay for many months in Biloxi and on Dauphine Island, where they starved in masses or died of epidemic diseases.

It may be taken for granted that at these two places more than one thousand Germans died.

"Many died," says Dumond, "because in their hunger they ate plants which they did not know and which instead of giving them strength and nourishment, gave them death, and most of those who were found dead among the piles of oyster shells were Germans."

In the spring of 1721 such a fearful epidemic raged in Biloxi among the immigrants that the priests at that place, having so many other functions to perform, were no longer able to keep the death register. (See "Etat Civil" for 1727, where a Capuchin priest records the death of a victim of the epidemic of 1721, in Biloxi, on the strength of testimony of witnesses, no other way of certifying to the death being possible.)

Thus, for many months, the effects of the concessioners and of the immigrants were exposed to the elements on the sand of the beach. Even the equipment for Law's concession, which had arrived in the beginning of 1720, a cargo valued at a million of livres, lay in the open air in Biloxi for fifteen months, before the ship "*Le Dromadaire*," in May, 1721, at the order of the governor, but against the protests of some of the directors of the company, sailed with it for the mouth of the Mississippi.

This ship, with its load, drew thirteen feet of water and, as the "*Neptune*," also drawing thirteen feet, had crossed the bar of the Mississippi and sailed up to the site of New Orleans as early as 1718, and as an English vessel carrying 16 guns had passed up to English Turn in September, 1699, there was no reason whatsoever for detaining "*Le Dromadaire*" for fifteen months. A proper use of the "*Neptune*" alone, which had been stationed permanently in the colony since 1718, would have relieved the congestion in Biloxi and saved thousands of human lives which were sacrificed by the criminal neglect of the officials of the *Compagnie des Indes*.

As "Le Dromadaire" carried the outfit for the Law concession and for the plantation of St. Catharine, this ship may also have had some passengers on board, German *engagés*, so-called Law people; but perhaps not very many, as Bienville, in sending her to the Mississippi against the protests of some of the directors of the company, took a great responsibility upon himself, and could not afford to load her too heavily, lest there should be trouble in getting her over the bar of the river. The larger number of the German Law people, those who had arrived during the year 1720, had, no doubt, been sent to the Arkansas River by the inland route to clear the land and provide shelter for the great number of Germans who were expected to arrive in the spring of 1721.

No wonder that under such conditions as obtained in Biloxi a very low state of law and order reigned there, and that complete anarchy could be prevented only by drastic measures. A company of Swiss soldiers in the absence of their commander forced the captain of a ship to turn his vessel and to take them to Havana; and another company marched off to join the English in Carolina. The Swiss in Fort Toulouse, above Mobile, also rose and killed their captain; but these mutineers were captured and punished in Indian fashion by crushing their heads; one Swiss was packed into a barrel which was then sawed in two, and a German who had helped himself to something to eat in the warehouse in Biloxi was condemned by the Superior Council to be pulled five times through the water under the keel of a vessel.

But punishment which was meted out so severely to the small pilferer did not reach the guilty ones in high positions. Though the Germans on the other side of the bay died by the hundreds from starvation, Hubert, the commissioner general, who, as an investigation proved, had not kept any books during the whole tenure of his office, did not even know that there was a shipload of provisions in the hull of a vessel stranded near Ocean Springs and left there for eleven months. Yet Hubert was not punished.

Even this description, perhaps, does not give the whole truth, as contemporary writers did not dare to say what they knew. Dupratz says (I. 166):

"So delicate a matter is it to give utterance to the truth that the pen often falls from the hands of those who are most disposed to be accurate."

#### GERMANS IN PASCAGOULA.

In January, 1721, 300 *engagés* came to the concession of Madame Chaumont in Pascagoula. There were no Germans among them, as the census of 1725 shows, but Pensacola must be mentioned here, as there was a German colony at that place very early, arising, perhaps, on the ruins of this concession or of some other enterprise. The date of the founding of that German settlement is not known; but, in 1772, the English captain Ross found there, on the farm of "Krebs," cotton growing and a roller cotton gin, the invention of Krebs, and, perhaps, the first successful cotton gin in America.\*

In the same year (1772) we hear of a great storm which raged most furiously "on the farm of Krebs and among the Germans of Pascagoula."

His last will and testament, written in New Orleans in the Spanish language in 1776, gives his full name as "Hugo Ernestus Krebs." He was from Neumagen on the Moselle, Germany, and left fourteen grown children, whose descendants still own the old Krebs farm, which the author visited in August, 1906. It is situated on a slight elevation on the border of "Krebs' Lake," near the mouth of the Pascagoula River, and a mile and a half north of the railroad station of Scranton (now incorporated with East Pascagoula), Mississippi.

The Creoles there call the Krebs home "the old fort," and the three front rooms forming the center of the house, the rest consisting of more recent additions, were evidently built with a view of affording protection against the Indians. The walls of this part of the house are eighteen inches thick, the masonry consists of a very hard concrete of lime, unbroken large oyster shells, and clay. The post and sills are of heavy cypress, which, after serving at least 175 years, do not show any signs of decay. The floor is made of concrete similar to that of the walls, but a wooden floor has been laid upon it, taking away

\* Cotton was planted in Louisiana much earlier. Charlevoix saw some in a garden in Natchez in 1721; and Dupratz constructed a machine for extracting the seed; but his machine was a failure.





THE KREBS HOMESTEAD (THE OLD FORT).



KREBS CEMETERY.



KREBS CEMETERY.

about eighteen inches from the original height of the rooms. All the wood work was hewn with the broad axe.

In front of the house lies an old mill stone which once upon a time served to crush the corn.

Near the house is the "Krebs Cemetery," with the tombs of the members of the Krebs family, of whom a great number are buried there. The accompanying pictures were taken on the spot.

According to the family traditions the old fort was built by "Commodore de la Pointe," who is said to have been a brother of Madame Chaumont. Hamilton, in his "Colonial Mobile," page 140, says that Joseph Simon de la Pointe received, on the 12th of November, 1715, from Governor Cadillac, a land concession on Dauphine Island for the purpose of enabling him to raise cattle. As Dauphine Island was practically abandoned, after the great storm of 1717, de la Pointe probably also gave up his concession, and a map, drawn about 1732 ("Colonial Mobile," page 86) shows "Habitation du Sieur Lapointe"<sup>9</sup> on the very spot where the Krebs homestead now stands, near the mouth of the Pascagoula River.

La Pointe's daughter, Marie Simon de la Pointe, became the first wife of Hugo Ernestus Krebs. Thus the old fort came into possession of the Krebs family, where it still remains, the present owner and occupant being Mrs. J. T. Johnson, née Cécile Krebs, an amiable and highly intelligent lady to whom the author's thanks are due. She is the great grand-daughter of Joseph Simon Krebs, the eldest son of Hugo Ernestus Krebs and Marie Simon de la Pointe.

Francesco Krebs, the second son of Hugo Ernestus Krebs and Marie Simon de la Pointe, received Round Island in the Bay of Pascagoula, containing about 110 acres of land, as a grant from the Spanish government, on the 13th of December, 1783, after having occupied it for many years. The family of his wife had received permission to settle there from the French governor Bienville, who left Louisiana in May, 1743.

<sup>9</sup> Every concessioner was given the title of "Sieur".

## PEST SHIPS.

On the 3d of February, 1721, the ship "La Mutine" arrived at Ship Island with 147 Swiss "Ouvriers" of the Compagnie des Indes, under the command of Sieur de Merveilleux and his brother. French speaks of 347 Swiss.

Shortly before, on the 24th of January, 1721, four ships had sailed from the French port of L'Orient for Louisiana with 875 Germans and 66 Swiss emigrants. The names of these ships were "Les Deux Frères," "La Garonne," "La Saonne," and "La Charante." Of these four ships the official passenger lists, signed by the authorities of L'Orient, have been preserved, and a copy of the same came into the possession of the "Louisiana Historical Society" in December, 1904. From these it appears that these emigrants, who had, perhaps, traveled in troops from their homes in Germany and Switzerland to the port of embarkation, were divided on board according to the parishes whence they had come. Each parish had a "prevost" or "maire," whilst the leader of the Swiss bears the title of "brigadier." We find the parishes of

*Hoffen* (there is one Hofen in Alsace, one in Hesse-Nassau, three in Wurtemberg, also five "Hoeften" in Germany);  
*Freiburg* (Baden);  
*Augsburg* (Bavaria);  
*Friedrichsort* (near Kiel, Holstein);  
*Freudenfeld* (some small place in Germany not contained even in Neumann's "Orts-und Verkehrs-Lexicon," which gives the names of all places of 300 inhabitants and upwards);  
*Neukirchen* (many places of that name in Germany, but this seems to have been Neukirchen, electorate of Mayence);  
*Sinzheim* (one Sinzheim and one Sinsheim, both in Baden);  
*Freudenburg* (Treves [Trier], Rhenish Prussia);  
*Brettheim* (Wurtemberg);  
*Wertheim* (on the Tauber, Germany);  
*Sinken* (one Singen near Durlach, another near Constance, both in Baden, Germany);  
*Ingelheim* (near Mayence, Prussia);  
*Hochburg* (Baden).

It would seem strange that, in spite of the great number of people whom these four vessels had on board for Louisiana, not one of our Louisiana historians should mention by name the arrival in the colony of more than one of these ships. There is

a horrible cause for this; but few of these 941 emigrants survived the horrors of the sea voyage and landed on the coast of Louisiana!

The one ship mentioned as having arrived is "Les Deux Frères," which La Harpe reports as having reached Louisiana on the 1st of March, 1721, with only 40 Germans for John Law out of 200 who had gone on board in France. The official passenger list before me mentions 147 Germans and 66 Swiss, or 213 persons on board. Therefore 173 lives out of 213 were lost on this ship alone on the sea!

And the other three vessels? Martin says that in March, 1721, only 200 Germans arrived in Louisiana out of 1200 embarked in France. Martin, no doubt, refers to the 875 Germans and 66 Swiss on board the four ships just mentioned, with, perhaps, one or two additional ships.

"La Garonne" was the ship with the 300 "very sick" Germans which was taken by the pirates near San Domingo.

What suffering must have been endured on board these pest ships, what despair! Fearful sickness must have raged with indescribable fury.

The history of European emigration to America does not record another death rate approaching this. The one coming nearest to it is that of the "Emanuel," "Juffer Johanna," and "Johanna Maria," three Dutch vessels which sailed from Helder, the deep water harbor of Amsterdam, in 1817, with 1150 Germans destined for New Orleans. They arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi, after a voyage of five months, with only 597 passengers living, the other 503 having died on the sea from starvation and sickness, many also in their fever and utter despair having jumped overboard.<sup>10</sup>

There is a document attached to the passenger lists of the four pest ships from L'Orient, giving the names of sixteen Germans who were put ashore by the ship "La Garonne" in the port of Brest, France, a few days after her departure from L'Orient, and left at Brest at the expense of the company "chez le Sieur Morel as sick until their recovery or death." All sixteen died between the 10th and the 27th of February, 1721, proving the

<sup>10</sup> See the author's *Das Redemption system im Staate Louisiana*, p. 14.

deadly character of their malady. This disease having broken out immediately after the departure of "La Garonne" from L'Orient, and evidently on all four vessels, we may assume that the passengers were already infected while still in port, and it must have broken out a second time on board "La Garonne" after her departure from Brest. The heartless treatment given the emigrants of that time, the lack of wholesome food, drinking water, medicines and disinfectants accounts for the rest.

Among the sixteen victims "chez le Sieur Morel" in Brest are found members of two families well known and very numerous in Louisiana at present :

*Jacob Scheckschneider* (Cheznaidre) whose parents, Hans Reinhard and Cath. Scheckschneider, were on board *La Garonne* with two children;<sup>11</sup>

*Hans Peter Schaf*, whose parents, Hans Peter and Marie Lisbeth Schaf, were on board the same vessel with two children. The whole family seems to have perished, but there was a second family of that same name on board which will be mentioned presently.

Of other passengers of *La Garonne* on this terrible voyage should be mentioned :

*Ernst Katzenberger* and wife, founders of the Casbergue family;

*Adam Trischl*, wife and three children, founders of the Triche family;

*Andreas Traeger*, wife and child, founders of the Tregre family;

*Jean Martin Traeger* and wife, who seem to have perished;

*Joseph Keller*, wife and two children, founders of the Keller family;

*Jacob Schaf*, his wife and six children (probably related to the Schaf family mentioned above), the founders of the Chauffe family.

On the passenger list of the other three pest ships are found :

*Heidel* (Haydel) Ship *La Charante*. Widow Jean Adam Heidel and two children. They were two sons, the elder of whom, "Ambros Heidel," married a daughter of Jacob Schaf (Chauffe) and became the progenitor of all the "Haydel" families in Louisiana. His younger brother is not mentioned after 1727.

<sup>11</sup> The surviving child, Albert Scheckschneider, became the progenitor of the Scheckschneider family in Louisiana.

*Zweig* (Labranche) Ship *Les Deux Frères*. Two families:

- 1) Jean Adam Zweig, wife and daughter;
- 2) Jean Zweig, wife and two children, a son and a daughter. The daughter married Jos. Verret, to whom she bore seven sons, and later she married Alexandre Baure. The son married Suzanna Marchand and became the progenitor of all the Labranche families. "Labranche" is a translation of the German "Zweig" and appears in the marriage record of the son of Jean Zweig.

*Rommel* (Rome) Ship *Les Deux Frères*. Jean Rommel, wife and two children.

*Hofmann* (Ocman) Ship *Les Deux Frères*. Jean Hofmann, wife and child. Ship *La Saone*. Michael Hofmann, wife and two children from Augsburg, Bavaria.

*Schantz* (Chance) Ship *Les Deux Frères*. Andreas Schantz and wife.

These vessels having arrived in Biloxi during March, 1721, the 200 survivors of the 1200 Germans no doubt were in Biloxi in the following month, when the greatest of all epidemics raged there, and, after their escape from the dangers of the sea voyage, they again furnished material for disease. Jean Adam Zweig is especially mentioned in the census of 1724 as having died in Biloxi.

Towards the end of May, 1721, the "St. André," which sailed April 13th, 1721, from L'Orient with 161 Germans, arrived in Louisiana. Among them are named Jean George Huber (Oubre, Ouvre), wife and child. A few days later, the "La Durance," which sailed April 23d, from L'Orient with 109 Germans, reached Louisiana. On the passenger list of this ship appears "Caspar Dubs, wife and two children." Caspar Dubs, was the progenitor of all the "Toups" families in Louisiana. He was from the neighborhood of Zürich, Switzerland, where the "Dubs" family still has many branches in the Affoltern district.

Finally there came, according to la Harpe, on the 4th of June, 1721, the "Porefaix" from France with 330 immigrants, mostly Germans, and originally intended for John Law's concessions. They were under the command of Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg, a former Swedish officer, then in the service of the Compagnie des Indes. La Harpe says that thirty more Swedish officers came with him.

(*To be Continued.*)

#### NOTE.

The Carnegie Institution, of Washington, D. C., has commissioned Professor M. D. Learned, editor of the GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, to investigate the sources of American History in German archives. The Imperial Government has already expressed its willingness to assist in making German sources accessible for the purpose. The scope of the work will include the State archives, the University libraries, municipal and parish archives and such private collections as may be accessible.

Scholars are everywhere beginning to recognize in the United States a vast field of research for cultural relations, and it is in accordance with this trend of affairs that the Carnegie Institution has departed from its original policy of publishing individual articles of merit bearing on some phase of American life and culture by directing such investigations. Some of our foremost scholars are already in Europe at work on the British, French, Italian and Spanish sources of American history. This invitation to Professor Learned has occasioned much gratification at the University of Pennsylvania, as it is regarded as a noteworthy honor to the University and a deserved recognition of the distinction which Professor Learned has achieved in German American researches.

Professor Learned sailed for Europe on February 27, and will return in October, in time to meet his classes in the College and Graduate School at the beginning of the new college year. During his absence the undersigned will assume editorial responsibility of the GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, and requests that all communications in the interim be sent to

E. M. FOGEL,  
College Hall, U. of Pa.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

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### THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN COAST OF LOUISIANA

AND

### THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT.

By J. HANNO DEILER,

Professor Emeritus of German in the Tulane University of Louisiana,  
New Orleans, La.

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(Continued.)

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#### CHARLOTTE VON BRAUNSCHWEIG-WOLFENBUETTEL.

A very romantic legend has come down to us from that time. It is said that with the German immigrants of the four pest ships who arrived in Louisiana in March, 1721, there came also Charlotte Christine Sophie, a German princess of the house of Braunschweig-Wolfenbuettel, who had been the wife of the Czarevitch Alexis, the oldest son of Czar Peter the Great of Russia. She is said to have suffered so much from the brutality and infidelity of her husband that, in 1715, four years after her marriage, she simulated death, and while an official burial was arranged for her, she escaped from Russia, and later came to Louisiana, where she married the Chevalier d'Aubant, a French officer, whom she had met in Europe.

Gayarré (Vol. I, page 263) made a very pretty story of this legend, and added a touching introductory chapter. According to him the Chevalier d'Aubaut, a young Frenchman, was attached

(67)



to the court of Braunschweig as an officer in the duke's household.

"He had gazed so on the star of beauty, Charlotte, the paragon of virtue and of talent in her ambrosial purity of heaven, that he had become mad—mad with love!

Now the princess is on her way to St. Petersburg and her bridegroom is with her, and fast travelers are these horses of the Ukraine, the wild Mazeppa horses that are speeding away with her.

In her escort is a young Cossack officer riding closely to the carriage door, with watchful care and whenever the horses of the vehicle which carried Alexis and his bride threatened to become unruly, his hand was always first to interfere and to check them; and all other services which chance threw in his way, he would render with meek and unobtrusive eagerness; but silent he was as the tomb.

Once on such an occasion, no doubt as an honorable reward for his submissive behavior and faithful attendance, the princess beckoned to him to lend her the help of his arm to come down the steps of her carriage. Slight was the touch of the tiny hand; light was the weight of that sylphlike form: and yet the rough Cossack trembled like an aspen leaf, and staggered under the convulsive effort which shook his bold frame."

It was d'Aubant, of course, the Chevalier of the Braunschweig court, her lover in disguise.

"On the day of their arrival in St. Petersburg he received a sealed letter with two papers. One was a letter; it read thus:

'D'Aubant.

'Your disguise was not one for me. It could not deceive my heart. Now that I am the wife of another, know for the first time my long kept secret—I love you. Such a confession is a declaration that we must never meet again. The mercy of God be on us both.'

The other paper was a passport signed by the Emperor himself, and giving to the Chevalier d'Aubant permission to leave the empire at his convenience.

In 1718 he arrived in Louisiana with the grade of captain in the colonial troops. Shortly after he was stationed at New Orleans, where he shunned the contact of his brother officers and lived in the utmost solitude.

On the bank of the Bayou St. John, on the land known in our day as the Allard plantation, there was a small village of friendly Indians, and beginning where the bridge now spans the bayou, a winding path connected it with New Orleans. There the chevalier lived, and his dwelling contained a full length portrait of a female surpassingly beautiful, in the contemplation of which he would frequently remain absorbed, as in a trance, and on a table lay a

crown, resting not on a cushion, as usual, but on a heart, which it crushed with its weight, and at which the lady from out of the picture gazed with intense melancholy. Every one felt that it was sacred ground out there on the Bayou St. John.

It was on a vernal evening, in March, 1721, the last rays of the sun were lingering in the west, and d'Aubant was sitting in front of the portrait, his eyes rooted to the ground—when suddenly he looked up—gracious heaven! it was no longer an inanimate representation of fictitious life which he saw—it was flesh and blood—the dead was alive again and confronting him with a smile so sweet and sad—with eyes moist with rapturous tears—and with such an expression of concentrated love as can only be borrowed from the abode of bliss above.

Next day they were married, and in commemoration of this event they planted those two oaks, which, looking like twins, and interlocking their leafy arms, are, to this day, to be seen standing side by side on the bank of the Bayou St. John, and bathing their feet in the stream, a little to the right of the bridge as you pass in front of Allard's plantation."

Such is Gayarré's account. It is a pity to destroy such a pretty legend, but the historian is not the man of sentiment—he seeks truth.

Let us examine this story critically, first acquainting ourselves with conditions in Russia, whence it emanated.

Alexis, the husband of the German princess, was at the head of the old Russian party which violently opposed the reforms introduced by the Czar Peter the Great, the father of Alexis. A conspiracy was formed by this party to frustrate the reforms, and the Czar, fearing for the success of his plans, forced Alexis, the heir apparent, to resign his claims to the Russian succession and to promise to become a monk. When Peter the Great was on his second tour through Western Europe, however, Alexis, with the aid of his party, escaped and fled to Austria. Very unwisely he allowed himself to be persuaded by Privy Counsellor Tolstoi to return from Vienna to Russia, whereupon those who had aided him suffered severe punishment, and Alexis himself was condemned to death. It is true, the sentence was commuted by the Czar, but Alexis died, in 1718, from mental anguish, it was said, but according to others he was beheaded in the prison. To meet the accusations of unjust treatment of his son, the Czar published the records of the court proceedings, proving the conspiracy.

There can be no doubt that the enemies of the Czar, especially the very strong and influential old Russian party, did everything in their power to make the treatment Alexis had received at the hands of his father appear as one of the blackest crimes, and that the Czar's party retaliated by blackening the character of the Czarevitch as much as lay in their power.

At that time, and for the purpose of defaming the character of the dead prince, the story that the German princess, his wife, had simulated death to escape from the martyrdom of a supposedly wretched married life, must have been invented by the partisans of the Czar. Why should she have gone to Louisiana, and nowhere else? Because everybody went to Louisiana at that time. It was the year 1718. That was the very time when John Law and the Western Company were spreading their Louisiana pamphlets broadcast over Europe; it was the time when thousands of the countrymen of the dead princess were preparing themselves to emigrate to the paradise on the Mississippi; it was the time when the name of Louisiana was in the mouth of every one. Moreover, Louisiana was at a safe distance—far enough away to discourage any attempt to disprove the story.

The tale, too, was repeated with such persistency that many European authors printed it, that thousands believed it, and that even official inquiries seem to have been instituted.

As to the princess' alleged Louisiana husband, the Chevalier d'Aubant, who was said to have married her in New Orleans in March, 1721, the present writer desires to say that he has carefully and repeatedly examined the marriage records of New Orleans, Mobile and Biloxi from 1720 to 1730 without meeting with such a name, or any name similar to it. Moreover, Mr. Hamilton, of Mobile, the author of "*Colonial Mobile*,"<sup>12</sup> who examined the Mobile records completely and with infinite care, found only a French officer "d'Aubert" (not d'Aubant), who, in 1759, thirty-eight years later, commanded at Fort Toulouse; but this d'Aubert was married to one Louise Marg. Bernoudy, a daughter of a numerous and well-authenticated French pioneer family of Mobile.

<sup>12</sup> See pages 89 and 164 of that work.

The story of the romantic Louisiana marriage is therefore without foundation, and so the legend is a myth, although Allard's plantation, near New Orleans, is pointed out to us as the dwelling place of the lovers, and the two "leaflocked oak trees right by the bridge still bear witness to their happiness."

Pickett, in his "History of Alabama," claims the couple as residents of Mobile. Zschokke, the German novelist, makes them residents of "Christinental on the Red River," and others place them in the Illinois district; *i. e.*, the country north of the Yazoo River.

Martin says the King of Prussia called Charlotte's alleged lover "Maldeck." How the King of Prussia was hauled into the story can easily be explained. Louisiana was a French province, and (as will be shown in the chapter "Koly") the Prussian ambassador at the court of France was either for his own account, or as a representative of his king, financially interested in the St. Catherine enterprise in Louisiana; and he was therefore believed to be in a better position and nearer to the channels of information to make inquiries about affairs and people in Louisiana than any other German official in Paris. If, therefore, the family of Braunschweig-Wolfenbuettel desired to investigate the rumors current at that time, they had no better means of doing so than to request the King of Prussia to instruct his ambassador in Paris to make researches. The Prussian ambassador possibly reported that there was a man in Louisiana, by the name of "Maldeck" who claimed his wife to be the princess.

As to the name of "Maldeck," the writer will say that he found that name, or, rather, a name so similar to it that it may have stood for the same. In the passenger lists received by the "Louisiana Historical Society" from Paris in 1904 (see page 106), a laborer named "Guillaume Madeck" is mentioned, a passenger on the ship "Le Profond," who, from the 8th of May, 1720, to the 9th of June, 1720, the day of the departure of the vessel for Louisiana, had received thirty-three rations. A man of such humble station, however, would certainly not have suited a princess for a husband, and so, if the story was ever circulated in Louisiana, either Wilhelm Maldeck, or his Louisiana wife, claiming to be a princess, must have imposed upon the people.

JOHN LAW, A BANKRUPT AND A FUGITIVE.<sup>13</sup>

With the ship "Portefaix," so La Harpe informs us, the news of the failure of John Law and his flight from Paris reached the colony of Louisiana.<sup>14</sup> The news of Law's flight seems to have paralyzed the Compagnie des Indes, for it took them many months to decide what should be done with Law's concessions on the Arkansas River and below English Turn. The German *engagés* on the Arkansas River, who probably arrived there about the end of 1720, or in the spring of 1721, had not yet been able to make a crop, as the preparatory work of clearing the ground and providing shelter for themselves had occupied most of their time, and much sickness also prevailing among them, they were unable to begin farming operations on a larger scale before August, 1721.

These Germans therefore needed assistance until they could help themselves, for not another livre was to be expected from the bankrupt John Law; and the concession must be given up unless the company or some one else should step in to provide for those people.

It seems incomprehensible that the directors of the company in Louisiana, under these circumstances, should have waited from the 4th of June to beyond the middle of November of the same year to decide to take Law's concessions over; and even after they had decided to manage the concessions in the future for their own account, the resolution was not carried out, as Law's agent on the Arkansas, Levens, refused to transfer the

<sup>13</sup> Law left Paris on the 10th of December, 1720, for one of his estates six miles distant. There Madame Brié lent him her coach, and the Regent furnished the relays and four of his men for an escort. Thus Law travelled towards the Belgian frontier. Returning her coach, Law sent the lady a letter containing a ring valued at 100,000 livres. (Schuetz, *Leben und Charakter der Elisabeth Charlotte, Herzogin von Orleans*, Leipzig, 1820.)

<sup>14</sup> This statement of La Harpe cannot be accepted as correct. Law left France about the middle of December and the news of his flight spread rapidly. The ship *La Mutine* arrived in Louisiana on the 3d of February; the four pest ships which sailed from L'Orient on the 24th of January—six weeks after Law's flight—arrived in March; the ship *St. André*, which sailed April 13th, came towards the end of May, and a few days later came *La Durance*, which sailed April 23d, and still no news of the disaster? The ship *Portefaix* with D'Arensborg on board, which arrived on the 4th of June, may have brought some instructions concerning the steps to be taken in the matter, but the first news must have reached the colony much earlier.

business to the company or to continue it in the company's name. Furthermore, as this man, in spite of his refusal to carry out orders, was left undisturbed in his position,<sup>15</sup> it happened that the German *engagés* in the meantime received help neither from one side nor from the other to bridge them over to the harvesting time of their first 'crop, but were forced to ask help of their only friends, the Arkansas and the Sothui Indians. Finally, when help from this last source failed, and small-pox broke out among the Indians and the Germans, they were forced to give up all and abandon the concession.

THE GERMANS LEAVE LAW'S CONCESSIONS EN MASSE, APPEAR  
IN NEW ORLEANS, AND DEMAND PASSAGE FOR EUROPE.

According to tradition, the Germans on the Arkansas resolved<sup>16</sup> to abandon Law's concession and to go down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Only forty-seven persons remained behind, whom La Harpe met there on the 20th of March, 1722, when he installed Dudemaine Dufresné, but when La Harpe returned from his other mission, viz., the search for the imaginary "Smaragd Rock" in Arkansas, these too had departed.

The arrival of the flotilla of the Germans from the Arkansas River must have been a great surprise for the people of New Orleans. This city was at that time in its very infancy, and seems to have looked more like a mining camp than a town. The engineer Pauget, who went there in March, 1721, to lay out the streets, found in the bush only a small number of huts covered with palmetto leaves or cypress bark; and the Jesuit Charlevoix wrote from New Orleans on the 10th of January, 1722, i. e., immediately before the arrival of the Germans from the Arkansas, that New Orleans was a wild, lonely place of about a hundred huts, and almost completely covered by trees and bushes. He found two or three houses, it is true, but such as would not have been a credit to any French village, a large wooden warehouse, and a miserable store, one-half of which had been lent to the Lord for religious services; but, he said, the

<sup>15</sup> He was replaced only in March, 1722, by Dudemaine Dufresne.

<sup>16</sup> It seems to have been at the end of January or in February, 1722.

people want the Lord to move out again and to accept shelter in a tent. Indeed, New Orleans contained at the taking of the census of November 24th, 1721, excluding soldiers and sailors, only 169 white persons, and the Germans who came down from the Arkansas must have outnumbered them considerably.

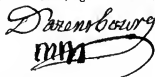
The surprise created by their arrival must have been a very unpleasant one for the officials of the *Compagnie des Indes*. Indeed, the Germans did not come to thank them for favors, and is it to be imagined that some very plain words were spoken by the Germans to the officials of the company; in fact, it is said that Governor Bienville interceded, and when they demanded passage back to Europe, tried his best to induce them to remain.

The results of the conferences were: first, that the Germans from the Arkansas were now given rich alluvial lands on the right bank of the Mississippi River about twenty-five miles above New Orleans, on what is now known as "the German Coast," comprising the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist, where, in 1721, two German villages, of which we shall hear more, already existed; secondly, that the agent on the Arkansas, Levens, was deposed; and, thirdly, that provisions were sent to the Germans who still remained there.

#### THE FAMILY OF D'ARENSBOURG.

The family of Charles Fred. D'Arensbουργ is very important in the history of the German Coast, and as doubts existed until now as to its real descent, it will be treated here at some length.

The former Swedish officer who had charge of the German immigrants of the ship "Portefaix" and who became the commander of the German Coast, signed his name:

A handwritten signature in cursive script. The word "D'Arensbουργ" is written in a large, flowing hand. Below it, the word "MAY" is written in a smaller, blocky, and somewhat stylized font. A long, horizontal flourish extends from the end of the signature.

and the tradition among his descendants is that he was a nobleman.

Examining his signature, we notice at the end of the first letter a decided downward stroke, making it appear as if this downward stroke was intended to serve as an apostrophe, and that the man really intended to write "D'arensbourg", a form of name which would support the tradition of noble lineage.

The names of the older nobility being usually names of places, we shall now consider the only two places by the name of "Arensburg", which exist in Europe: one in the principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, Germany, and the other on the island of Oesel in the Bay of Riga, province of Livonia, Russia. As the principality of Schaumburg-Lippe is in Germany, and as the Russian province of Livonia was founded by Germans at Riga, in 1200, and belonged to the territory of the "German Knights" for centuries, and as the nobility of Livonia and the other Baltic provinces have kept their German blood pure to the present day, a noble family of that name would in either case be of the German nobility, and the original form of the name would be "von Arensburg".

As our Louisiana D'Arensbourg was a former Swedish officer, and as the town of Arensburg on the island of Oesel in the Bay of Riga, together with the whole province of Livonia, belonged to Sweden up to the year 1721, the year of Chas. Fred. D'Arensbourg's emigration to Louisiana, and as thirty other Swedish officers are said to have come with him to Louisiana in 1721, it might be assumed that our Louisiana D'Arensbourg belonged to the Riga branch of the German noble family "von Arensburg", and that, at the cession of Livonia to Russia, in 1721, our D'Arensbourg, together with thirty compatriots, who all had fought on the Swedish side against Russia, preferred exile to Russification, and emigrated to Louisiana in the year 1721.

Wishing to obtain more definite, and, if possible, official information as to the descent of this D'Arensbourg, the present writer addressed the Imperial German Consul in Riga, and this gentleman, "Herr Generalconsul Dr. Ohneseit", kindly submitted the questions to the chancellery of the "Livlaendische Ritterschaft, Ritterhaus, Riga", where the resident "Landrat" ordered re-



searches with the result that the name of "von Arensburg" could be found neither in the church records of Livonia nor in the records of the "Livlaendische Hofgericht", to whose jurisdiction the island of Oesel belonged during the Swedish dominion and even later. Both the archivist and the notary of the "Livlaendische Ritterschaft" write furthermore that no family by the name of "von Arensburg" can be found in the literature relating to the Swedish, the Baltic, the Finnish or the German nobility. This settles the question of noble lineage.

"Herr von Bruniingh," the archivist of the "Ritterschaft," however, agrees with the author, that "D'Arensbourg" points to the island of Oesel as the home of the man. It was also suggested that the man may have added "d'Arensbourg" to his family name (which must have been "Karl Friedrich") in order to indicate his birth place, or place of last residence or garrison, or in order to distinguish his family (there being many Friedrichs) from other branches of the same name, "which was not seldom done." Indeed, there were even several Friedrich families in Louisiana, and the census of 1724 mentions two of them, Nos. 2 and 42 in that census. In this case the change of name must have taken place before the departure from France, since the commission held by the Swedish officer was issued in the name of "Charles Fred. D'Arensbourg."

The following is offered as a possible solution: The former Swedish officer "Karl Friedrich," a German and a native or former resident of Arensburg on the island of Oesel, having determined to emigrate to Louisiana rather than become a Russian subject, applied to the *Compagnie des Indes* for a position in the colony, and in his petition, written in French, signed his name "Charles Friedrich," and added to it "d'Arensbourg" to indicate his birthplace, or place of last residence or garrison. The French officials, mistaking "d'Arensbourg" for his family name, issued his commission to "Charles Frederic d'Arensbourg;" and it being thus entered on the books of the company, and the man being known and addressed officially in that way, he was forced to adopt this as his family name.

The wife of D'Arensbourg, too, is said to have been a

Swedish lady, and her name, according to our historians, was "Catherine Mextrine." This is surely an error, for the author finds that D'Arensbourg was a single man when he came to Louisiana, in 1721. At least the census of 1724 mentions him as a bachelor, aged thirty-one, though the census of 1726 reports him as having a wife and one child. D'Arensbourg was, therefore, married in Louisiana, and we shall prove that his wife's name was neither "Catherine" nor "Mextrine," and that she was not from Sweden, but from "Schwaben" (Württemberg).

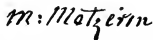
The last three letters "ine" of the name "Mextrine" alone betray her as a German woman. It is the suffix "in," which was formerly added to the family names of married ladies in Germany. We had a German poetess by the name of "Karshin," the wife of a tailor named "Karsh;" the wife of a Mr. Meyer used to be called "Frau Meyerin," and I still remember that old people used to call my good mother "Frau Deilerin."

The French officials in Louisiana used to add an "e" to the "in" in order to retain the German pronunciation of the suffix. Thus the church records of Louisiana have:

Folsine, *i. e.*, the wife of Foltz,  
Lauferine, *i. e.*, the wife of Laufer, and  
Chefferine, *i. e.*, the wife of Schaefer.

The "x" in Mextrine is a makeshift for the German hissing sound of "z" or "tz," for which there is no special sign in French, "z" in French sounding always like a soft "s."

In proof of all this a facsimile of the signature of "Catherine Mextrine" is given here, which the author found in the marriage contract entered into between her granddaughter, Marie de la Chaise, and François Chauvin de Lery on the 23d of July, 1763:



It will be noticed that she signed her name without the final French "e," just as a German woman of that time would have written the feminine form of the name "Metzer."

Her family name, then, was "Metzer," and according to family tradition she was from Württemberg. The present writer is inclined to think that she was the daughter of one Jonas "Mesquer" (French spelling), who, according to the passenger lists, sailed with his wife and five children on the 13th of April, 1721, on board the ship "St. André" from L'Orient for Louisiana.

In the marriage contract of her eldest son, who married Françoise de la Vergne on the 18th of June, 1766, the mother of the bridegroom is called by the French notary "Marguerite Mettcherine." Here we also have her Christian name which corresponds with the initial of her own signature. It is not "Catherine" but "Marguerite," a favorite German name for women.

Karl Friedrich D'Arensburg served for more than forty years as commander and judge of the German Coast of Louisiana, sharing alike the joys and hardships of his people, and on one occasion, at least, taking an important part in political matters.

It is the proper place here to mention the part he, then a man of seventy-six years of age, played in the rebellion against the Spanish in 1768.

Ulloa, the Spanish governor, who had come to Louisiana in March, 1766, to take possession of the colony in the name of the King of Spain, to whom France had ceded Louisiana in 1763, had found the population very hostile; and, as he had only ninety soldiers with him, he did not formally take possession of Louisiana, but requested the French commander to hold over and act under Spanish authority until more Spanish troops should arrive. This interim lasted until the 28th of October, 1768, when the people rose and Ulloa was forced to retire to Havana.

During this year Ulloa had taken from the Germans of the German Coast provisions to the value of 1500 piastres to feed the Acadians, who had but recently come into the colony, and were not able yet to sustain themselves.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> On the 28th of February, 1765, 230 persons, natives of Acadia (Nova Scotia) arrived in Louisiana. They came from San Domingo, where they had found the climate too hot, and were in great misery. Their whole for-

Hearing of the ferment all over the colony, and fearing that the Germans might make the nonpayment of their claims a pretext to join the conspirators, Ulloa, on the 25th of October, 1768, sent a man by the name of Maxant with 1500 piastres to the German Coast to settle the indebtedness of the Spanish government.

In a letter dated Havana, December 4th, 1768, one day after his arrival from New Orleans ("Notes and Documents," page 892) Ulloa says:

"In the early morning after Maxant's departure Lafrénière and Marquis sent Villeré and André Verret in pursuit of Maxant to prevent the remitting of the money to the Germans, fearing that if he should satisfy them they might no longer have any motive to join the cause of the conspirators.

"Maxant arrived at the habitation of D'Arensbourg for whom I had given him a letter and when he delivered it to him he found him to be so different a man from what he expected him to be—in spite of his great age determined to defend liberty and neither wanting to be a subject of the king (of Spain), nor the country to belong to the king.

"Maxant was arrested by Verret on the place of Cantrelle, the father-in-law of another Verret and Commander of the Acadians, where he was much maltreated. Verret declared later that he received the order to arrest Maxant from Villeré, Lafrénière and Marquis."

Ulloa in this letter expresses the belief that D'Arensbourg had been influenced by his relatives, Villeré, the commander of the German militia, and de Léry, the commander of the militia in Chapitoulas. It is true that Villeré was married to Louise de la Chaise, and François Chauvin de Léry to Marie de la Chaise, both granddaughters of D'Arensbourg, that de Léry was a first cousin to Chauvin Lafrénière, the attorney general of the col-

tune consisted of only 47,000 livres in Canadian paper, which the people of Louisiana refused to accept. Focault demanded permission from Paris to reimburse them, gave them 14,000 livres worth of merchandise and provisions, and sent them to Opelousas and the country of the Attakapas.

On the 4th of May, 1765, 80 persons from Acadia arrived and went to Opelousas.

On the 5th of May, 1765, 48 Acadian families arrived and were sent to Opelousas.

On the 16th of November, 1766, 216 Acadians arrived from Halifax. They were sent to "Cahabanoce," the present parish of St. James. These were the ones who received the provisions which the Spanish government took from the Germans on the German Coast.

ony and orator of the rebellion, whose daughter was the wife of Noyan, the leader of the Acadians.

But it needed no persuasion to make D'Arensbourg take the stand which he took, for Ulloa himself had furnished more than sufficient grounds to make him do so:

Ulloa had forbidden the flourishing trade with the English neighbors (September 6th, 1766);

He had closed the mouths of the Mississippi, except one where the passage for vessels was most difficult and dangerous;

He had refused to pay the costs of administration since the transfer of Louisiana to Spain (1763), and wanted to be responsible only for the obligations incurred since his arrival (March, 1766), thereby repudiating the salaries of officials, officers, and soldiers for three years;

He had imposed crushing burdens on export and import—vessels from Louisiana must offer their cargoes for sale first in Spain, and only when there were no purchasers in Spain were they allowed to go to the ports of other countries, whence they had to return to Spain in ballast, for only there could they load for Louisiana;

And, finally, by ordinance published May 3d, 1768, he prohibited commerce with France and the French West Indies.

This last ordinance was the most terrible blow of all for the colony. The flourishing lumber trade with San Domingo and Martinique was ruined thereby, and, with the ports of France closed, and only those of Spain open, the Louisiana products were at once thrown into direct and absolutely ruinous competition with those of Spanish America; for Guatemala furnished better indigo, the Isle of Pines more tar and resin, and Havana better tobacco than Louisiana.

All this tended to depress prices for the Louisiana products. Furthermore, would the colonists find a market for their goods in Spain as they had in France? Louisiana peltries received in trade from the Indians, the chief staple of the Indian trade, had less value in Spain, because they were used less there than in France; and the industries of Spain, much inferior to those of France, could not furnish the colonists with the class of goods which they needed to compete with the English traders in the Indian trade. Add to this the uncertainty as to the fate of the French paper circulating in Louisiana, and it will be easily understood that values of all kinds depreciated fully fifty per cent.

In addition to these hardships it must not be forgotten that, if this ordinance had been put in force, every man, woman, and child in the colony would have been compelled to give up their beloved Bordeaux wine and drink the "vin abominable de Catalogne."

All these reasons combined were surely enough to determine D'Arensbourg, who before the publication of the ordinance prohibiting trade with France seems to have acquiesced in the Spanish dominion, to take the stand he took. Indeed he did not need the persuasion of his relatives. No other stand was possible.

IT WAS ON THE GERMAN COAST THAT THE REVOLUTION OF 1768 BEGAN. D'Arensbourg, the patriarch of the Germans, defied the messenger of the Spanish governor; and it was surely D'Arensbourg's word and D'Arensbourg's influence that enabled Villeré to march two days later with 400 Germans upon New Orleans where the Germans took the Chapitoulas Gate on the morning of October 28th. The Acadians under Noyan, the militia of Chapitoulas under de Léry and the people of the town followed; and on the morning of the 29th they marched upon the public square (Jackson Square) before the building of the Superior Council to support the demand of Lafrénière to give Ulloa three days' time to leave Louisiana. The resolution was carried, and the people greeted the news with shouts of: "Vive le roi"! "Vive Louis le bien aimé!" "Vive le vin de Bordeaux!" "A bas le poison de Catalogne!"<sup>18</sup> Ulloa left on the 1st of November on a French vessel for Havana.

The success of the revolution was due chiefly to Lafrénière, the Canadian orator, to Marquis, a Swiss and the commander of the revolutionary forces, who wanted to found a republic after the pattern of Switzerland, and to D'Arensbourg and the German and the Canadian militia.

A few Spanish officers having remained when Ulloa sailed, and Ulloa's frigate having been left behind "for repairs," the colonists frequently gave vent to their hostility to the Spanish;

<sup>18</sup> Franz, page 321.

and in December a petition to the Superior Council was circulated demanding the removal of both the Spanish officers and the ship. A resolution to that effect was adopted by the Council, but it was never put into effect.

Meanwhile the news expected from France, where a commission of prominent Louisianians had petitioned the king to take possession of the colony again, did not arrive, and the hopes of the leaders of the rebellion against Spanish rule began to waver. They did not wish now to risk an attack on the Spanish frigate, and when the Germans of the German Coast threatened to march again to New Orleans to drive out the Spaniards, Lafrénière himself became alarmed and persuaded them to desist.

. On the 24th of July, 1769, the news reached the city that the Spanish general O'Reilly had arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi with large forces to take possession of Louisiana. Again Marquis called the people to the public square, and implored them to defend their liberties; and again the Germans from the German Coast entered the city to oppose O'Reilly's entrance. But most of the others had already resolved to surrender, and so the Germans too had to give up their design.

Six of the leaders of the revolution were condemned to death, among them Villeré, Lafrénière, Marquis, and Noyan. Tradition informs us that O'Reilly intended also to have D'Arensbourg included, but that the latter was saved through the intercession of Forstall, under whose uncle O'Reilly is said to have served in the Hibernian regiment in Spain.

D'Arensbourg was made a chevalier of the French military order of St. Louis on the 31st of August, 1765, and died on November 18th, 1777. His wife died December 13th, 1776. They left numerous descendants.

#### THE GERMAN COAST.

The district to which Law's Germans from the Arkansas River were sent after their descent to New Orleans begins about twenty-five miles (by river) above New Orleans, and extends about forty miles up the Mississippi on both banks.

The land is perfectly level; at the banks of the river, how-

ever, it is a little, almost imperceptibly, higher, because of the deposit the Mississippi had left there at every overflow. At a distance from one to three miles from the river it becomes lower, and gradually turns into cypress swamps, so that on each side of the Mississippi only a strip from two to three miles in width is capable of being cultivated. For this reason land there is estimated only according to the arpent river front, to each arpent front belonging forty arpents in depth. This is what is called in deeds "the usual depth." An arpent is about 182 feet.

Large dikes, called "levees," now restrain the Mississippi from spreading over the lands in time of high water; but as the sediment deposited continually raises the river bed, the levees, too, must be made higher and higher. They are now from twenty to thirty feet high, the celebrated Morganza levee measuring even thirty-five feet. On this account, only the roofs of two-story houses can be seen from the middle of the river.

The crown of the levee, where a delightful breeze is found even during the hottest part of the day, is from six to ten feet wide, affording, besides a beautiful view of the Mississippi and the vast area of level land back to the cypress swamps, a very pleasant promenade where the people love to gather.

Along the inland base of the levee runs the only wagon road up the coast,<sup>19</sup> and still farther inland, between majestic shade trees or groves, stand the palatial mansions of the planters with their numerous outhouses. Some distance in the rear are the sugar houses with their big chimneys; and from these a wide street, lined with a double row of little white cabins with two or four rooms each, leads to the fields. In the days of slavery this was the negro quarters, but now the free laborers and field hands, mostly Italians, live there.

The fields, whose furrows run invariably at right angles with the river, extend as far as the eye can see, to the cypress forests in the swamps. Every fifty or sixty feet a narrow but deep and well kept ditch runs in the same direction; little railroads lead from the fields, whence they carry the sugar cane to the sugar houses, and in the month of November, when the grinding

<sup>19</sup> The banks of the Mississippi River are called "coast." Hence the "German Coast."



season begins, these fields, with the waving sugar cane, afford a beautiful sight. Four important railroads, running parallel to the Mississippi, intersect the rear of the plantations, the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley and the Louisiana Railway and Navigation Co.'s line on one side of the Mississippi, and the Southern and the Texas Pacific on the other. Between New Orleans and Baton Rouge, the people plant mostly sugar cane, but also some rice and corn. Beyond Baton Rouge, cotton takes the place of the sugar cane.

In some places wide strips of torn up land, with hollows and trenches scooped out, and with little hills of deposit extend from the river to the swamp. These are places where the Mississippi has broken through the levee, its mighty waters rushing with a roar heard for miles down upon the land twenty or thirty feet below, wrecking houses, uprooting trees, carrying off fences, and inundating and devastating hundreds of miles of the richest lands.

Little crawfishes from the river sometimes crawl up to the base of the levee and work their way through the earth masses. The water follows them, and all of a sudden a little spring bubbles up on the inland slope of the levee. If this is not discovered at once by the guards watching at high water time day and night, it widens rapidly until the earth from the top tumbles down, and a "crevasse" results. However small this opening may be in the beginning, it will, through the crumbling away of both ends, soon extend hundreds of feet, and so great is the force of the current that even large Mississippi steamers have been carried through such breaks.

Woe to the planter who does not, at the first warning, flee with his people and his stock to some safe place on the crown of the levee where rescue steamers can reach them.

Sometimes also defective rice flumes, laid through the levee to obtain water for the rice fields, have caused crevasses.

On the left bank of the German Coast, between Montz and La Place, two stations of the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railway, such a strip of torn up land may be seen. Here was "Bonnet Carré Crevasse (April 11th, 1874) which was 1370 feet wide, from twenty-five to fifty-two feet deep and which

remained open for eight years. Further up the river, and on the same side, near Oneida (Welham station of the same railroad) was "Nita Crevasse," which occurred on the 13th of March, 1890, and was 3000 feet wide. Both these crevasses did immense damage even to the German farmers near Frenier, more than ten miles distant from the break, where the crevasse water entered Lake Pontchartrain and washed so much land into the lake that houses which stood 150 feet from the shore had to be moved back.

This is the German Coast of to-day. At the time of the settling of the German pioneers, in 1721, it was quite different. There were no levees then, and the whole country was a howling wilderness.

This district was called "La Côte des Allemands," but usually only "Aux Allemands." During the Spanish period (after 1768) it was called "El Puerto des Alemanes," and when the district was divided there were a "Primera Costa de los Alemanes" and a "Segunda Costa." Since 1802 the lower part has been called "St. Charles Parish," and the upper "St. John the Baptist Parish."

feet wide, from twenty-five to fifty-two feet deep, and which



THE FIRST VILLAGES ON THE GERMAN COAST.

The weight of authority and tradition among our Creole population of German descent up to the present time has favored the legend that Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg, who came to Louisiana on the ship "Portefaix" on the fourth of June, 1721, was the leader of the Germans already on the Arkansas River, and that he came down from there with Law's Germans to the German Coast.

Careful researches and the finding of new material until recently unavailable have convinced the writer that this legend can no longer be entertained. D'Arensbourg never was on the Arkansas River, and the Germans from there were not the first Germans on the German Coast. There had been established two German villages on the German Coast prior to the arrival there of the people from the Arkansas River.

Here are the facts:

The census of 1724, a most important document, a copy of which was received by the "Louisiana Historical Society" from Paris, in December, 1904, mentions two old German villages, ten lieues (about thirty miles) above New Orleans on the right bank. "Le premier ancien village allemand" was one and a half miles inland from the Mississippi, the second three quarters of a mile, and between the two lay a tract of four arpents of land, which had been cleared by the community to serve as a cemetery. When the census of 1724 was taken the people of the second village (the one nearer to the Mississippi) had all been three years on their lands. This throws the founding of the second village into the year 1721.

The first German village ("le premier ancien village allemand") i. e., the one remoter from the Mississippi, was founded, so the census says, by twenty-one German families, but the time of the founding is not given. These twenty-one families must have come before the others, otherwise their village would not have been called "le premier ancien village allemand."

As Pénicaut informed us that in 1719 the ship "Les Deux Frères" brought a number of German people, "with all sorts of merchandise and effects which belonged to them," and as these evidently were people of some means, who wanted to become

independent settlers, we may assume that they were the founders of "le premier ancien village allemand," one and a half miles inland from the Mississippi River. The census of 1724 informs us that the people of the first village, when they left their homes in consequence of the inundation of 1721, abandoned 100 arpents of "beautifully cleared lands." As it took time to clear these lands it is easy to see, that the first village must have been settled much earlier than the second.

In September, 1721, so the census of 1724 continues, the people of the two old villages were drowned out by the storm water of the "great hurricane," and the waters of the lake. This storm<sup>20</sup> lasted five days. The wind blew first from the southeast, then from the south, and, finally, from the southwest. There being large bodies of water in the rear of the German Coast, "Lac des Allemands" on the north, "Lake Salvador" on the south, and the "Bayou des Allemands" connecting the two, it must have been the waters of these which were hurled against the two German villages.

Over 8000 quarts of rice, ready for the harvest, were lost in this storm. In New Orleans most of the houses were blown down; in Biloxi the magazines were wrecked "to the great satisfaction of the keepers, this accident relieving them from the obligation of rendering their accounts." In Ocean Springs "one had the great sorrow to lose a great quantity of artillery, of lead, and provisions, which had been a long time on board a freight ship stranded near Old Biloxi, and which for more than a year they had neglected to put ashore." It will be remembered that during the summer of 1721, while these provisions were lying in the stranded vessel at Ocean Springs, the Germans on

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<sup>20</sup>The year of the great storm is stated differently by Louisiana writers. The reason for this is the fact that several of the older authorities relied upon began to write their works many years after these occurrences, and, so it seems, partly from memory; and therefore confused dates in the retrospect. But the official census of 1724, having been taken but three years after the great storm, on the spot, and while everything was yet fresh in the minds of the people may be relied upon as absolutely correct. That part of the census reporting the great storm is dated September 12th, 1724, and says, on page 86: "Ils furent noyés il y a trois ans lors de l'ouragon par la pluie et par les eaux du lac que le vent jetta sur leur terrain quoy qu'ils en éloignez de deux a trois lieues."

the other side of the bay were allowed to starve by the hundreds.

According to the census of 1724, some of the inundated families of the two old German villages on the German Coast died, others moved to the river front, where the land was higher, and only three: Diehl, Schenck and Kobler, were found in "le premier ancien village allemand" by the census enumerator of 1724.

The second village, the one nearer to the Mississippi, was also partly abandoned, and the people from there also moved to the river bank; but fourteen households, including those of four widows, remained behind. On the river bank a new establishment was founded.

All this happened in the year 1721, when the Germans of Law were yet on the Arkansas River. It has, therefore, been proved that there were two German villages on the German Coast before the Arkansas people came down the Mississippi.

#### KARL FRIEDRICH D'ARENSBOURG AND THE FOUNDERS OF THE SECOND GERMAN VILLAGE ON THE GERMAN COAST.

Having ascertained now beyond a doubt that there were two German villages on the German Coast of Louisiana before the arrival of the people from the Arkansas River, and having ventured a suggestion as to the people who were the founders of the first village, we shall now attempt to answer the question: "Whence came the Germans who founded the second village?"

As has already been stated, the "Portefaix" arrived in Louisiana on the 4th of June, 1721, with 330 passengers, mostly Germans under the leadership of Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg. Why this time a special leader for *engagés* if these were intended for John Law's concessions? Every concessioner managed his *engagés* through his own officers, and D'Arensbourg was not in the employ of Law, for his commission, issued January 9th, 1721, was not a commission by John Law, but by the Compagnie des Indes. Unusual conditions must have obtained to cause the company to send a special officer with these German emigrants.

La Harpe informs us that the same ship brought the news

of John Law's bankruptcy and flight from Paris. That Law was bankrupt and a fugitive at that time is a fact. He had fled from Paris to Brussels on the 10th of December, 1720. It is certain, therefore, that the Compagnie des Indes in Paris knew, in December, 1720, if not before, that there was no further need of sending people for Law's enterprises in Louisiana, as Law could not hold his concessions any longer, and could not support the people working for him in Louisiana until they could make their first crop to support themselves. The company, furthermore, knew that the sending of any more *engagés* for the Law enterprises would only increase its embarrassment and still more complicate matters on the Arkansas River.

What disposition, then, was the company to make of the many hundred Germans whom the agents of Law had engaged in Germany before the bankruptcy of their master, and who were now in the French ports clamoring for passage for Louisiana? There were only two ways out of the dilemma. Having these people on its hands and ready to sail when the catastrophe occurred, the company might decide to have them distributed among the other concessioners in Louisiana; but this would not have necessitated the sending along with them of a special officer, for the company's officials in Louisiana could have attended to the distribution. The company, secondly, might decide to keep the people together after their arrival in Louisiana, to organize them into a body, and to establish a new community with them. If this was the intention, then it was but natural to select as their leader and head an officer of their own nationality, a man speaking the German language. D'Arensbourg filled this condition, and, moreover, he was supposed to be a German nobleman, to whose authority the Germans would willingly submit.

At this point the date of D'Arensbourg's appointment assumes special importance. His commission was issued in Paris on the 9th of January, 1721, *i. e.*, shortly after the flight of John Law, and at the very time when the need of such a man was urgent. The writer is, therefore, of the opinion that the company, after the flight of Law, decided to send no more

Germans to the Law concessions in Louisiana, but to organize under the leadership of D'Arensbourg the Germans still in the ports of France, and to begin a new settlement with them somewhere in Louisiana.

Of the German *engagés* in the ports of France at this critical juncture, 875 Germans and 66 Swiss left France on the 24th of January, 1721, on the four pest ships spoken of on a previous page. Two hundred of them arrived in Biloxi during March, where their number was again greatly reduced by the terrible epidemic then prevailing.

Why D'Arensbourg was not sent with the first ships sailing after his appointment may be due to the fact that a stay of several months of these people in Biloxi was expected, and that D'Arensbourg's presence was not needed, as the company had its headquarters in Biloxi, and its officials there could take care of the Germans on their arrival in Louisiana. So D'Arensbourg brought up the rear, and came with the last troop on board "Portefaix," reaching Biloxi on the 4th of June and meeting there the sad relics of the pest ships and the few survivors of the epidemic, a number of them widows and orphans.

There is no doubt that a number of the passengers of the "Portefaix," too, succumbed to the epidemic which was still raging in Biloxi when that ship arrived, and that D'Arensbourg then, merging the survivors of the different troops into one body, departed with them for the banks of the Mississippi. Where he went to form a settlement the writer has been able to ascertain partly from the passenger lists and partly from the census of 1724.

Six out of the fourteen German families still found in 1724 in the partly abandoned second old German village, three quarters of a mile from the Mississippi, were survivors of the pest ships D'Arensbourg had met in Biloxi; and Schenck, Diehl and Kobler, the three families which had moved from the second, partly abandoned, to the first, totally abandoned, village, had also been passengers on the pest ships. If the passenger list of the "Portefaix" were available, it would perhaps show that the re-

mainder of the fourteen households of the second village consisted of passengers of the "Portefaix." Finally, D'Arensbourg's own land, twelve arpents, was between the two old German villages and adjoining the cemetery, which was midway between the villages.

All the people of the second village having been three years on their lands in 1724, (see census of that year) there can be no doubt that D'Arensbourg and his people settled on this place in 1721, and instead of going up to the Arkansas River founded the "second old German village."

When the first village and part of the second village were abandoned after the hurricane of September, 1721, and a new establishment was founded on the river bank, D'Arensbourg remained on his land between the two old villages; and when, after the completion of the new cemetery and the chapel on the river bank, Oberle and Hecker, two Germans from the second village, took possession of the old cemetery, D'Arensbourg, as judge and commander, claimed this land adjoining his own for himself on the ground that it had been cleared by the old community for a cemetery and was, therefore, public land.

According to a map of the year 1731 (Crown Maps) this chapel stood on the river bank, on the place now known by the name of "Le Sassier," or "Trinity Plantation;" and about one mile below the chapel, but on the opposite bank of the Mississippi, was a small military post with one gun mounted "en barbette."

The old villages, including D'Arensbourg's own land, had been called "Karlstein," no doubt in honor of the first judge and commander of the German Coast, Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg, but the new establishment on the river front was given another name. There, in the new village on the river bank, the Germans from the Arkansas River, coming down the Mississippi on their way to New Orleans, must have met their countrymen; and this meeting must have been a great incentive for the Arkansas people to accept Bienville's offer of lands above and below the river front village of their countrymen on the German Coast.



This also explains why we hear from now on of three German villages on the river front, the village of the D'Arensbourg people in the center, and two villages of the Arkansas people, one above and the other below the first: "Hoffen," "Mariental," and "Augsburg." The name Karlstein was retained for the little settlement in the rear, and Karlstein being the name of the residence of the commander and judge of the German Coast, it gradually superseded all the other names. The little map on page 85 bears the inscription: "Les Allemands ou Carlstain."

#### HARDSHIPS AND DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE GERMAN PIONEERS.

No pen can describe, nor human fancy imagine the hardships which the German pioneers of Louisiana suffered even after they had survived the perils of the sea, and epidemics and starvation on the sands of Biloxi. No wonder that so many perished. Had they been of a less hardy race, not one of these families would have survived.

It should be remembered that the land assigned to them was virgin forest in the heavy alluvial bottoms of the Mississippi, with their tremendous germinating powers awakened by a semi-tropical sun. Giant oaks with wide-spreading arms and gray mossy beards stood there as if from eternity, and defied the axe of man. Between them arose towering pines with thick undergrowth, bushes and shrubs and an impenetrable twist of running, spinning, and climbing vines, under whose protection lurked a hell of hostile animals and savage men. Leopards, bears, panthers, wild cats, snakes, and alligators, and their terrible allies, a scorching sun, the miasma rising from the disturbed virgin soil, and the floods of a mighty river,—all these combined to destroy the work of man and man himself. There were no levees then, no protecting dams, and only too often when the spring floods came, caused by the simultaneous melting of the snow in the vast region of the upper course of the Mississippi and its tributaries, the colonists were driven to climb upon the roofs of their houses, and up into the trees, and hundreds of miles of fertile lands were inundated.



MISSISSIPPI LEVEE IN FRONT OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH  
"AUX ALLEMANDS."

The following petition, perhaps one of many similar ones in that year, the author found among official acts:

"A MESSIEURS DU CONSEIL SUPERIEUR DE LA NOUVELLE REGIE.

Le nomme Jean Jacob Foltz habitant allemand, prend la liberté de vous représenter très humblement, que l'année passée il auroit esté inondée sur son habitation par le Mississipi, de sorte qu'après avoir travaillée pendant tout l'année il na peu recueillir que sept bary de Ris, et se trouvent aujourd'hui dans la dernier necessité avecue une femme et un enfant, c'est pour ce donc il requet

Ce considéré messieurs il vous plaise de luy accorder quelque quart de Ris pour pouvoir subsister avecue sa famille jusque' a sa recolte, les quelles il s'oblige de rendre a la dite recolte. C'est la Grace qu'ill espere de vos bontets ordinaires, il prias Dieu pour votre Santé et prosperitet, a la Nouvelle Orleans, 12 May, 1725.

(Signed) Jacob Foltz.

The petitioner informs the Superior Council that his place had been inundated by the Mississippi in the preceding year, and

to such an extent that, after a whole year's work, he had been able to harvest only seven barrels of rice, and that he finds himself now with his family, consisting of his wife and a child, in the direst need. For this reason he petitions the Council to advance him some rice so that he may be able to sustain his family until next harvest, when he promises to pay back the rice advanced to him. According to a note on the margin of the document, the prayer was granted on the same day. The census of 1724 confirms the statement that Foltz had made only seven barrels of rice that year, and adds that he was sick the whole summer.

When the arduous work of clearing the land was done, the tilling of the soil began. With plow? Oh no! The company des Indes did not furnish plows. But why do we speak of plows? There were no horses nor oxen to draw them. The census of 1731 shows that, ten years after the arrival of the Germans, there was not yet a single horse on the whole German Coast; and the census of 1724 proves that, out of fifty-six German families enumerated, only seven had been given a cow each.

It is true there were 262 horses in 1731 outside of New Orleans, and the Tunica Indians also had thirty; but the 262 horses had been given by the company only to large planters, and the Indians had obtained theirs from the Spaniards. There were no horses for the German small farmers. All that was done for them up to the year 1731 was to sell to them occasionally a negro, for whom they had to grant the company a mortgage on all their movable and immovable property.

No draught animals, no plows, no cows, no wagons to haul the products—everything had to be carried home as best one could. Perhaps the Compagnie des Indes gave the colonists some wheel barrows, but there is not to be found any mention even of them. The only agricultural implements furnished were pickaxe, hoe, and spade. Imagine people working with these in the hot sun, on the hard ground and with bodies racked with malarial fever!

And when the day's work in the field was done, there was no evening rest inviting them home; for now began the heavy

work on the "pilon," the hand mill, or pounding trough, to crush the corn and rice for their scanty meals. No meat! Where should it be obtained? The killing of cows was a crime at that time (and there were so few to kill!) and the people working during the day in the fields to utter exhaustion could not go hunting for game, and had not the means to keep an Indian hunter as most of the large concessioners did.

Rice, corn, and beans,  
Corn, beans, and rice,  
Beans, rice, and corn

constituted their daily fare, and Mississippi water their drink. No chickens, not an egg! The company did not furnish chickens. A pig or two, that was all! Chickens were furnished only by Governor Bienville, and only to those on Bienville's own land immediately above the city of New Orleans, to raise poultry for the city and to pay part of their ground rent to Monsieur Bienville in capons.

One can not blame the French *engagés* for running away from such a miserable existence. There is in Louisiana a popular saying, which is occasionally heard from Creoles when they speak of work uncommonly hard:

*"It takes German people to do that."*

Such is the reputation these German pioneers made for themselves in Louisiana! Yes, it took German people! They stood their work manfully, and most of them lay down and died long before their time!

#### TRoubles WITH THE INDIANS.

The Indians, too, were a source of constant worry, especially so about the year 1729, when the great massacre of the French, and also of some Germans, occurred in Natchez. Posts of observation were then established along the German Coast on high trees on the river bank, and when the men went out in the fields, women with flint-lock firearms went up into the tops of the trees to keep a sharp lookout, and to warn the men by shots when Indians sneaked out of the swamps and approached the habitations.

In the war following the Natchez massacre, the people of the German Coast seem to have taken a very active and a very creditable part. Charlevoix (IV., 269) says:

"The habitants commanded by Messrs. D'Arensbourg and de Laye (the director of the Meure concession, the river front of which was occupied by Germans) did also very well. They were also inclined to do with good will all the work that they were ordered to do."

Even as late as 1747 and 1748 Indian raids and depredations are reported. Most of these attacks were made upon the villages on the left bank, by Indians who were incited, armed, and often led by English traders. It was for this reason that the small military post on the German Coast, a wooden enclosure with one gun "*en barbette*," was built on the left side of the river.

In consequence of such instigation by the English, on the 8th of April, 1747, a band of Chacta Indians under their chief Bonfouca made a raid on the left bank of the Mississippi. On this occasion one German was killed, his wife wounded, and their daughter, together with three negroes and two negritoes, carried off as prisoners. The German girl was sold by the Indians to English traders, who took her to Carolina, "where the English governor was very active in stirring up other Indian nations to invade the Colony of Louisiana."

Then many Germans, fearing that the whole Chacta nation was on the war path, fled to New Orleans, and in order to induce them to return to their homes, soldiers had to be sent with them for their protection. When these, later, were withdrawn, the Germans crossed over to the right bank of the Mississippi where their principal establishments were, and "abandoned their houses and their well cultivated fields to the enemy and to the discretion of their animals." Thus governor Vaudreuil wrote on November 9th, 1748.

Another raid took place on November 9th, 1748. Indians appeared on the left bank "*aux Allemands*," on the habitation of one "*Chuave*" (Schwab) who had recently died. They found two Frenchmen there, Boucherau and Rousseau, and two ne-

groes. All these were killed with the exception of a negro, who, having received only flesh wounds, jumped into the Mississippi to swim to the other side, assistance reaching him from the other bank when he was in the middle of the stream. Meanwhile the Indians, finding no further resistance, began to plunder. In their savaging they also seriously wounded a French dancing master by the name of Baby, who, on one of his regular tours of instruction, came riding along on a mule, which was too miserable to save his master by running away from the savages.<sup>21</sup>

The wounded negro, according to negro fashion, gave a very exaggerated account as to the number of Indians from which he had escaped, and so the German militia of the right bank was called out by D'Arensbourg; but there being no means of transportation to get the men across the Mississippi in sufficient numbers to cope with the enemies, reported to be so numerous, and the people fearing that, in the absence of the militia, the savages might cross the Mississippi and begin a massacre among the unprotected women and children on the right side of the river, the militia was kept back and divided into three troops to protect the upper, middle, and lower right coast. At the same time a messenger was sent down to New Orleans for troops to go up on the left bank and engage the Indians while the militia should prevent the savages from crossing over.

Instead of going to the aid of the Germans, however, Governor Vaudreuil went next day with twenty-two men to Bayou St. John, in the rear of New Orleans, to reinforce the soldiers already there and enable them to cut off the retreat of the Indians, in which purpose he succeeded to the extent of killing two savages. Governor Vaudreuil should not have been surprised, as he seems to have been, at D'Arensbourg's not crossing the Mississippi with his militia, for he, as governor, must have known that there were no transportation facilities, which it was his duty as governor to provide, especially after the raid of 1747 and previous ones, which always occurred on the left bank of the river.

<sup>21</sup> "Baby taught the ladies the minuet and the stately bows with which they were to salute the governor and his wife." Fortier, I, 131.

In the nineteenth century, the relations between the Germans and the Indians became very friendly. As late as 1845, thousands of Indians, following the migrating game, used to come from Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas to Louisiana, to spend the winter in the south. They were given quarters in the outhouses of the farmers, and spent their time in hunting and making baskets. Like the migrating swallows, these Indians for generations visited at the same farms and became well acquainted with the white families, and much attached to them. On their arrival, the red men kissed the white children, and on returning from their hunting trips, they never failed to give them choice pieces of their booty. Their departure for the north was always a source of deep regret to the white boys, some of whom used to accompany the Indians on their hunting trips, and learned much about hunting from them.<sup>22</sup>

#### BETTER TIMES.

In spite of all the hardships which the pioneers had to endure and the difficulties to be encountered, German energy, industry, and perseverance conquered all; and although hundreds perished, the survivors wrested from the soil not only a bare living, but in course of time a high degree of prosperity also. Early travellers, who came down the Mississippi, describe the neat appearance of their little white houses, which stood in endless numbers on both banks of the Mississippi; and they also tell how these thrifty Germans used to row down to New Orleans in their boats with an abundance of their produce: vegetables, corn, rice, and later also indigo, to sell their goods on Sunday mornings in front of the cathedral; and how, at times, when non-producing New Orleans in vain waited for the provision ships from France or San Domingo, these German peasants more than once saved the city from heavy famine. Thus, in 1768, the provisions they furnished saved the Acadians.

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<sup>22</sup> Communicated by Felix Leche, Esq., a Creole of German descent.

CHURCHES OF THE GERMANS.

In the Catholic church in New Orleans, on the site of the present St. Louis Cathedral, the first church in this part of the colony of Louisiana, the Germans of the German Coast first attended divine service; here they also had their children christened, here their weddings were celebrated. The cathedral records from 1720 to 1730 contain many German names.<sup>23</sup>

But in 1724, so the census of that year informs us, the Germans had already a chapel of their own on the German Coast, which then may have stood already for one or two years, as the river settlement was made in the late fall of 1721. This chapel was built on the right bank of the Mississippi, on the place now called "Le Sassier" (Trinity Plantation), below Bonnet Carré Bend in St. Charles parish.<sup>24</sup> It is interesting to note this fact and to remember that this chapel was built about the same time when the Jesuit Charlevoix reported (1722) that the people of New Orleans had "lent the Lord half of a miserable store for divine service and that they want the Lord to move out again and accept shelter in a tent." Visiting priests from New Orleans held divine service on the German Coast until a resident priest was appointed. In the colonial budget for 1729 (earlier budgets are not available) provision was made for such a one. He was Pater Philip, a Capuchin.

According to a map of the year 1731 (Crown Maps), the German settlement of that time began on the upper side of Bonnet Carré Bend, about four miles below Edgard, in St. John the Baptist parish, and extended from there down the Mississippi. But the map fails to show the German settlement on the other side of the river, where the census of 1724 places a number of Germans.

The first chapel, according to tradition, was replaced in 1740 by the first "Red Church" on the other side of the river, twenty-five miles above New Orleans.

<sup>23</sup> See the author's *Geschichte der deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana*, pages 11 to 17.

<sup>24</sup> Louisiana is the only state in the Union in which the word "parish" is used to designate a "county."



The first Red Church was burned in 1806, and in the same year replaced by the second, the present Red Church. An irreparable loss was sustained here when, in 1877, a demented negro set fire to the priest's house, and all records of the church were burned. The rectory of the Red Church was not rebuilt. A new parish was erected on the other side of the river, the Holy Rosary Church, where the parish priest of Red Church now resides.



CHURCH OF ST. CHARLES BORROMAEUS.  
"RED CHURCH."

The name "Red Church" is due to the traditional coat of red paint which both of these churches had and which made them a landmark for the boats on the Mississippi River. Nearby is the oldest existing cemetery of the Germans, with many beautiful tombs. One of them, that of the Rixner (originally "Richner") family, is said to have cost ten thousand dollars. The tradition of the Rixner family about this tomb is that Geo. Rix-

ner, who in 1839 married Amélie Perret, had, in order to please his wife, to whom he was greatly devoted, laid aside ten thousand dollars to build a fine residence on his plantation. Before this could be done, the good wife died, and the sorrowing husband built his wife a magnificent tomb with this money. George Rixner never married again. His only child Amélie married an Italian, Count de Sarsana. She died in Marsala, Italy, and left a son, Ignatio.

In 1771, the Germans of the upper German Coast built the church of St. John the Baptist, in Edgard, upon the right side of the river, a few miles from the place where the first chapel had been. Fortunately, the records of this church have been preserved, and are in good condition. To that church the author paid more than thirty visits, and there he gathered rich material for his work.



CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

The corner stone of the present church of St. John the Baptist was laid on the 4th of June, 1820, and it was conse-

crated on the 17th of March, 1822. It took the place of the first St. John the Baptist Church, erected about 1771. The records of the church begin in the year 1772 with the entry of the marriage of Anton Manz (now "Montz"), of the diocese of Strassburg, the son of Jos. M. and Anna Maria Laufer, who married Sibylla Bischof, daughter of Joseph Bischof and Anna Maria Raeser, of St. John. The Raeser family came to Louisiana in 1721.

On account of the dampness of the ground, the dead are buried here in tombs above ground, and some very fine tombs belonging to the old colonial German families may be seen in this cemetery. About 1864, the portion of this parish on the opposite bank of the Mississippi was organized as the independent parish of St. Peter. The station "Reserve" of the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railway, thirty-five miles above New Orleans, is about half a mile from this church.

When, in 1769, the first church and cemetery of St. John were planned, there was some trouble to find the necessary ground for them. The Spanish General O'Reilly, hearing that some old bachelor had more land, twelve arpents, than he could attend to ordered him to furnish the necessary ground for both church and cemetery. To compensate him for his loss, the community was commanded to clear for him the same number of arpents on the remaining land of the man, and to give him the same number of new pickets as he had lost with the church land. This order was signed on the 21st of February, 1770. The original is still to be seen in the court house at Edgard.

*Situation:* The church of St. John the Baptist is immediately behind the levee, St. John the Baptist parish, Louisiana, two miles from St. John station of the Texas & Pacific Railway, thirty-five miles by rail above New Orleans. The post office on the place is called "Edgard."

The first parish priest (1772) was Pater Bernhard von Limbach, a German Capuchin, who later was transferred to St. Louis, Missouri.

*(To be Continued.)*

## GERMANS IN TEXAS.

(Continued.)

By GILBERT G. BENJAMIN, PH. D.

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### CHAPTER IV.

NUMBERS OF GERMANS IN TEXAS. INDUSTRIES, COTTON CULTURE, WAGES, CHARACTER AND METHOD OF LIFE, COMPARISON AND RELATIONS WITH THE AMERICANS.

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#### POPULATION.

It is difficult to state definitely how many Germans have immigrated to Texas. During the great Galveston flood of 1900, all reports of the Custom House were lost for the years 1840-1860. It is hard to sift from newspaper accounts, and those of travellers, the exact number of those immigrating. It is also difficult to state the number, because many were landed at New Orleans and some of these may have gone overland to Texas. To-day, 1907, the German population of Southern and South-western Texas is estimated to be between seventy-five and one hundred thousand.<sup>1</sup> The population of Western Texas, since the great immigration of the forties, has always been mainly of German extraction. The Germans there have kept their identity as a race. The German language is the most commonly spoken. German customs of life still hold sway. The German Sangverein still exerts a strong influence, and one would see there, probably, the most thoroughly Germanized portion of the United States. This is due to several reasons. The Germans were the earliest settlers in those districts. They all settled at one point. They came in such great numbers that they were able to populate whole counties. Comal and Gillespie Counties to-day are almost entirely German in sentiment, in speech, and in methods of life. Another reason why the German element has not been merged into that of the American, is because so many of them were edu-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Passing Show*, San Antonio, February 23, 1907.

cated men, and were able to become leaders in the community. During the fifties, the known antipathy of the Germans to slave labor and the competition between slave and free labor, kept the Anglo-Americans from settling in the neighborhood. This was not true of the northern states. The well edited German newspapers such as the *San Antonio Zeitung* and *New Braunfels Zeitung*, edited by such men as Dr. Adolf Douai and Dr. Lindheimer, also exerted an immense influence.

That the German element was strong in the early forties has been shown in preceding chapters. That there were many Germans in Texas in the thirties has also been shown. They numbered several hundred and were situated in the small towns in the vicinity of Industry. They came mainly from the Duchy of Oldenburg, and were induced to settle in Texas through the letter of Fritz Ernst.<sup>2</sup> Many settlements had been formed as has been previously shown. A writer states in 1840, that of all European races the Germans are always in the majority.<sup>3</sup> Another<sup>4</sup> says, that in a few years, the Germans will be as strong and as numerous as the Americans. He estimates the population of Texas in 1841, as follows:—

Spanish and Mexicans.....	8,000
North Americans.....	130,000
English .....	20,000
Germans .....	10,000
French .....	15,000 <sup>5</sup>
Scotch .....	10,000
Irish .....	12,000
Negroes .....	45,000

If his statements are true, the Germans had almost one-tenth as many as the Americans. In the early forties, the newspapers were filled with accounts of Germans arriving in Galveston and Houston. The *Weser Zeitung* gives the following as the number departing for Galveston from Bremen:—<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. II, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Hoehne, Friedrich, *Wahn und Oberzeugung*, etc. Weimar, 1844, p. 187. Letter dated January, 1840.

<sup>4</sup> Kordül, p. 80 (footnote).

<sup>5</sup> The French were probably in the eastern part near to Louisiana.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in *Der Auswanderer nach Texas*, Bremen, 1846, p. 9.

1842—	77	passengers	in	three	ships.
1843—	66	"	"	five	"
1844—	496	"	"	six	"
1845—	3,134	"	"	22	"

Total 3,773 passengers in 36 ships.

It gives the number departing for New Orleans, as follows:—

1841—	2,067	passengers	in	15	ships.
1842—	3,850	"	"	26	"
1843—	3,281	"	"	22	"
1844—	6,001	"	"	35	"
1845—	9,626	"	"	56	"

Total 24,825 passengers in 154 ships.

It further states that a large number of the passengers sailing for New Orleans are supposed to have gone to Texas.

Lorenzo Castro brought over from Alsace and Lorraine from 1842 to 1847 5,200 in twenty-seven ships.<sup>7</sup> A large majority was French, but without doubt many Germans were among them. Froebel, who visited the colony, said that he was surprised that they called themselves Germans.<sup>8</sup>

In 1839, 40 families of Germans landed in Texas, and 400 families were said to be coming before January, 1840.<sup>9</sup> On January 7, 1843, 117 immigrants are reported as having arrived at Galveston.<sup>10</sup> Sixty families arrived by February 1, 1843.<sup>11</sup> The same paper notes the arrival of 52 and 129 immigrants under date of December 27, 1843, and January 17, 1844, respectively. During the year 1844, two ships, the "Ferdinand" and "Herschel", brought over some 700 persons. They had been preceded by the "Johann Dethard", which brought over the first passengers under the auspices of the "Verein".<sup>12</sup> From the middle of October, 1845, up to April, 1846, 5,247 Germans landed in

<sup>7</sup> Castro, Lorenzo, *Immigration from Alsace and Lorraine*. New York, 1871.

<sup>8</sup> Froebel, *Central America*, London, 1859, p. 423.

<sup>9</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, December 11, 1839.

<sup>10</sup> *Civilian and Galveston Gazette*, January 7, 1843.

<sup>11</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, February 1, 1843.

<sup>12</sup> *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 39.

Texas under the auspices of the "Adelsverein".<sup>13</sup> Three thousand immigrants were at Indian Point, Feb. 2, 1846.<sup>14</sup> New Braunfels by May 14, 1845, had a population of 1500. It contained 300 wooden houses. There were one retail store, six groceries, a silversmith, a coppersmith, a locksmith, a saddler, six shoemakers, four furniture dealers, two tanners, three cigar factories, a wagon maker, three blacksmiths and a bakery.<sup>15</sup> Galveston in 1846 is said to have had a population of 4,000, of which one-half were Germans.<sup>16</sup> In January, 1846, New Braunfels is described as having 150 dwelling houses; a population made up of 800 Germans, 100 Texan Germans, 50 Americans, 12 Mexicans, and some of the members of Castro's colony.<sup>17</sup> By October of that year, that town had increased to 2500 domiciled settlers, although there were three thousand persons living there.<sup>18</sup> By March of the following year, it had grown to 3,000 inhabitants, and Fredericksburg had more than a thousand persons.<sup>19</sup> The latter place by April had increased to 1,100 and contained two stores and some 150 block houses.<sup>20</sup>

According to Franz Löher, 7,161 Germans landed at Galveston alone during the years 1841-1846, and 8,000 landed at that port during the year 1847.<sup>21</sup> According to Soergel, there were some six to seven thousand living in Galveston, Houston, Mill Creek, Indian Point, Victoria, New Braunfels and Castel.<sup>22</sup> The *Houston Telegraph* states that under the auspices of the "Verein", some 6,000 immigrants have been brought, up to the year 1847, to this country; that their settlements extended from the coast to the territory of the Comanches.<sup>23</sup> Löher<sup>24</sup> says, that there were 150,000 whites in Texas, 30,000 of whom were Ger-

<sup>13</sup> Bracht, p. 244.

<sup>14</sup> *Neuste Briefe und Nachrichten aus Texas*, Heilbron, 1846, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Letter May 14, 1845. Kordül, p. 367.

<sup>16</sup> Sommer, p. 9. Letter dated Galveston, June 6, 1846.

<sup>17</sup> Bracht, p. 234. Letter dated January 11, 1846.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 254.

<sup>19</sup> Letter March 13, 1847. Bracht, p. 258.

<sup>20</sup> Letter April 28, 1847. *Ibid*, p. 266.

<sup>21</sup> Löher, Franz, pp. 272-273.

<sup>22</sup> Soergel, *Neuste Nachrichten*. Eisleben, 1847, pp. 21-31.

<sup>23</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, October 28, 1847.

<sup>24</sup> Löher, p. 353.

mans. This cannot be far from right as the Census of 1850 gives the number of whites as 154,034. The number of Germans stated must be approximately correct, as the *New York Tribune* for 1856<sup>25</sup> gives the number of Germans as 20,000, and other writers state that the number was 30,000.<sup>26</sup> This made the number of Germans as one-fifth of the white population. Wisconsin, according to Löher's statistics, had a German population of two-fifths. Missouri had one-fifth; Virginia, Delaware and Maryland each one-fourth. The German element in Texas, however, was more compact than in any of the other states, excepting, perhaps, Wisconsin, and hence was bound to exert more of an influence, especially in sparsely settled communities such as Texas was made up of. Von Behr, writing before 1847, says that Galveston was more than one-half German, and that the "Verein" colony contains about 10,000 inhabitants.<sup>27</sup> Bracht estimates the number of Germans in 1849 from Germany in Texas, as 15,000, and 10,000 to 15,000 from the United States. The white population, estimated at that time by the number of voters in the various counties, was 137,931.<sup>28</sup> This would make the Germans number one-sixth of the white population. He further states that one-tenth of the white population three years before (1845 or 1846) was German.<sup>29</sup> He divides the population of the Germans as follows:—10,000 west of the Colorado; 6,000 in the neighborhood between the Colorado and Brazos; 5,000 in Galveston and Houston; and the rest scattered.<sup>30</sup>

The newspapers are filled with accounts of the arrival of German immigrants. By December 7, 1848, 130 reached Houston. They were all provided with comforts.<sup>31</sup> That winter twelve hundred were expected under the auspices of the "Verein". This

<sup>25</sup> Bruncken, *German Political Refugees*, p. 58.

<sup>26</sup> Adolf Douai says the Mainzerverein colonized Texas with 30,000 Germans. He was editor for years of the *San Antonio Zeitung*. Douai, *Land und Leute*. Berlin, 1864, p. 329.

<sup>27</sup> Von Behr, *Ottomar*, 1847, p. 88.

<sup>28</sup> Bracht, pp. 99-101.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, December 7, 1848.



was stated by an agent of that Society.<sup>32</sup> A year later, 300 had arrived in Texas.<sup>33</sup> These were mainly those departing on account of the Revolution of '48. Many of them were wealthy, and the majority was in comfortable circumstances.<sup>34</sup>

About 100 immigrants arrived at Houston in 1850. They proceeded immediately to the interior, and settled at Mill Creek, New Braunfels and Fredericksburg.<sup>35</sup> During that year several thousand immigrants were said to be on their way to Texas.<sup>36</sup> The following vessels from Bremen were on their way to Galveston:—<sup>37</sup>

"Eslafette", D. H. Heyer.....	Sept. 15.
"Paquese", Buenos Ayres.....	" "
"Solon", Ballehr.....	" 16.
"Magnet", Hasloop .....	" "
"Hermann", Theodor, B. F. Müller....	Oct. 1.
"Reform", Amerman.....	" "
Another vessel, name not given.....	" 15.

From Hamburg, bound for Galveston, came the ship "Bremen", with immigrants, and the bark "Alex".

In 1847-8, Fredericksburg had 2,000 inhabitants, Comal City 250, Leningen 140, Victoria 1200, Castroville 700, Dhannies 200, Industry 200, Indian Point 250.<sup>38</sup> The majority of the population in all these places was German. In 1852 Galveston had a population of 7,000, of which one-fourth was German.<sup>39</sup> Before 1853 New Braunfels had 3,000 and Indianola 1,000.<sup>40</sup>

The *Deutsche Gesellschaft* of New Orleans aided many Germans to go to Texas. In order to get an idea of how many Germans came to Texas by way of New Orleans, and how many did not come from Germany direct to Texas, the following statistics are given—there were sent to Texas by that society:

<sup>32</sup> Victoria, Texas, *Advocate*, August 31, 1848.

<sup>33</sup> *Mercantile Advertiser* (Houston), December 8 and 15, 1849.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, December 15, 1849.

<sup>35</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, December 6, 1850.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, October 30, 1850.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>38</sup> Bracht, p. 213.

<sup>39</sup> Article by Kapp, May 19, 1852, *Atlantische Studien*, Vol. I. p. 173.

<sup>40</sup> Büttner, *Briefe*, Bamberg, 1853.

In 1847-8,	317	immigrants.
" 1848-9,	277	"
" 1849-50,	86	"
" 1850-1,	366	"
" 1851-2,	1,209	"
" 1852-3,	1,504	"
" 1853-4,	1,566	"
" 1854-5,	1,290	"
" 1855-6,	190	"
" 1856-7,	417	"
" 1857-8,	111	"
" 1859-60,	63	"
" 1860-1,	238	"

There were none during the Civil War. Beginning with 1865, the following number of Germans were sent through the auspices of the society to Texas:—

In 1865-6,	25	immigrants.
" 1866-7,	16	"
" 1867-8,	270	"
" 1868-9,	306	"
" 1869-70,	893	"
" 1870-1,	1,361	"
" 1871-2,	1,876	"
" 1873-4,	1,933	"
" 1874-5,	746	"
" 1875-6,	717	"
" 1876-7,	590	"
" 1877-8,	598	"
" 1878-9,	561	"
" 1879-80,	1,006	"
" 1880-1,	1,228	"
" 1881-2,	678	"
" 1882-3,	600	"
" 1883-4,	300	"
" 1884-5,	250	"
" 1885-6,	250	"

It is noticeable that the immigration to New Orleans before 1852-3 is small in comparison with the following years. This is due probably to the fact that the Germans were sent direct to

\* Deiler, Hanno, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans*, 1897, p. 54ff. These statistics are taken from the books of the Society.

Galveston or Indianola in the ships of the "Mainzverein". After 1853, the "Verein" withdrew from Texas, and so the immigration came via New Orleans.

The Census of 1850<sup>42</sup> in giving its estimate of the number of Germans in Texas is very far from the truth. It gives 8,191 as having their birth place in Germany. The whole white population was 154,034. The same year Wisconsin had 191,881 and Missouri 592,004 whites. San Antonio, Texas, in 1856<sup>43</sup> alone had 3,000 Germans and Galveston in 1852 about 2,000.<sup>44</sup> There were 5,000 Germans in the vicinity of Houston. This was shown by a Census taken in 1857.<sup>45</sup> In 1857, 10,000 Germans are reported to have departed from the Duchy of Mecklenberg-Schwerin alone.<sup>46</sup> Western Texas had 25,000 Germans in 1857.<sup>47</sup> If we take 30,000 as being approximately correct, it will be seen that Texas had one-fifth of its population composed of Germans. Wisconsin had 191,881 whites, of whom 34,519 were Germans, or a little over one-sixth; Missouri, 592,004 whites, of whom 44,352 were Germans, or seven and one-half per cent. The statistics for Wisconsin and Missouri are probably more accurate than those of Texas. Kapp stated the proportion in Texas to be two-fifths native Americans, two-fifths of German origin and one-fifth Mexican. This is a rather large proportion. Olmsted<sup>48</sup> gives the following statement regarding the German population:

"There are estimated to be at the commencement of 1857, 35,000 Germans in Texas, of whom about 25,000 are settled in the German and half-German colonies of Western Texas."

In a footnote he states:<sup>49</sup>

"In Comal, Gillespie and Medina Counties, nearly all the inhabitants are Germans. In Victoria and Colorado Counties they constitute about three-fourths of the population; in Calhoun, Bastrop and Bexar (excluding San Antonio) about one-half; in Fayette, Caldwell, Travis and San Antonio City about one-third, and in

<sup>42</sup> *Census of 1850.*

<sup>43</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 160.

<sup>44</sup> *Atlantische Studien*, Vol. I, p. 173.

<sup>45</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, June 14, 1857.

<sup>46</sup> *San Antonio Ledger*, September 26, 1857.

<sup>47</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 441.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, footnote.

Hays about one-fourth. I have from an intelligent source, the following estimate by counties, with a larger footing. The Census of 1850 is thought to be of little value in respect to reports upon the nativities of Texans.

"Eastern Texas: Galveston, 3500; Houston, 3000; Harris County, 1000; scattered, 1000; total, 8500.

"Central Texas: Austin, 3000; Washington, 1000; Travis, 2000; Colorado, 1200; Bastrop, 1100; Fayette, 1000; Milam, 500; other counties, 400; total, 10,200 (part west of Colorado).

"Western Texas: Comal, 3500; Gillespie, 2000; Bexar, 5000; Medina, 1500; Guadalupe, 1500; Victoria, 1500; Dewitt, 1500; Calhoun, 1200; Karnes, 800; Caldwell, 400; Nueces, 400; Llano, 400; Hayes, 300; Karr, 300; Gonzales, 300; Rio Grande Cos., 1100; total, 21,700. Total in State, 40,400."<sup>60</sup>

The above statistics prepare us to accept the statements of Kapp, Olmsted, Roemer, and others, that the Germans of Texas formed a more important part of the population than in any other southern state.<sup>61</sup> Bruncken goes so far as to state that in no state did the Germans form as important a part of the population as in Texas.<sup>62</sup> Kapp says that, "although this number is but small comparatively speaking, German manners and German mind have more influence and are more respected than anywhere else in the United States. The reason is, that the German elements appear there as the first pioneers of the civilization, and sustain that character."<sup>63</sup> Roemer says: "Next to the Anglo-Americans, the Germans form by far the most important part of the population."<sup>64</sup> Olmsted states that "on entering Texas, we had been so ignorant as not to know that there were larger settlements there than in any other southern state."<sup>65</sup>

What about the German population after the fifties? Did it keep up its proportion? By the Census of 1860 Texas had 20,553 persons born in Germany, out of a white population of 377,893; Wisconsin, 123,879, out of a white population of 773,693; and Missouri, 88,487, out of a white population of 1,063,-

<sup>60</sup> *Bibliothèque Universale de Genève*, Vol. 35, p. 303, gives the same number as Olmsted. It is evidently based upon Olmsted.

<sup>61</sup> Olmsted, p. 132. Roemer, p. 59. Kapp's lecture, *N. Y. Tribune*, January 20, 1855.

<sup>62</sup> Bruncken, *Political Refugees*, p. 58. 1904.

<sup>63</sup> *N. Y. Tribune*, January 20, 1855.

<sup>64</sup> Roemer, p. 59. This refers to Galveston.

<sup>65</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 152.

489. This is evidently, also, inaccurate. Census of 1870: Texas, white population, 564,700, German, 23,985; Wisconsin, white population, 1,051,351, German, 162,314; Missouri, white population, 1,603,146, German 113,618. This, as in the Census of 1850 and that of 1860, is not correct as far as Texas is concerned. The districts of Germany represented in Texas, according to the Census of 1870 are:

Baden—	686
Bavaria—	837
Brunswick—	411
Hamburg—	140
Hannover—	1,525
Hessen—	1,065
Lubeck—	2
Mecklenberg—	466 <sup>86</sup>
Nassau—	477 <sup>86</sup>
Oldenburg—	475 <sup>87</sup>
Prussia—	13,781.

According to King, who visited Texas in 1873 and 1874, New Braunfels had a population of 4,000; Comal County, in which New Braunfels is situated, probably 10,000. He states that New Braunfels bears as many evidences of wealth and prosperity as any town in the Middle States.

In 1900, there were in Texas 48,295 persons who were born in Germany, and 157,214 who had either a father or a mother born in Germany.<sup>88</sup>

Goegg, who travelled through Texas sometime before 1883, states that Galveston at that time had 40,000 inhabitants;<sup>89</sup> San Antonio,<sup>90</sup> 20,000, of whom 8,000 were Germans; Austin,<sup>91</sup> 20,000, one-third of whom were Germans; Brenham,<sup>92</sup> 6,000, three-fourths of whom were Germans; Dallas,<sup>93</sup> 17,000, two-

<sup>86</sup> These amounts are wrong on their face, as the headquarters of the Verein was Nassau.

<sup>87</sup> There were probably that many in the early forties in the Duchy of Oldenburg.

<sup>88</sup> *Monatsbuch für Texas*, 1904; also *Census of U. S.*, 1900.

<sup>89</sup> One-fourth of whom were Germans. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>90</sup> Goegg, Amand, *Ueberseeische Reisen*, Zurich, 1888.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

thirds of whom were Germans; Fredericksburg, 2,000, all of whom were Germans.<sup>64</sup>

In 1904, the majority of the German population lived in Gillespie, Kendall, Comal and Bexar Counties. Fredericksburg was entirely German. San Antonio contained 60,000 inhabitants, of whom one-third were Germans. It is interesting to note that many of the Mexicans and negroes of San Antonio understood German. There were, in 1904, 22,384 German farmer families in Texas.<sup>65</sup>

Recently there has been formed a league of the different German societies in Texas. In a way, it may be styled a successor to the "Adelsverein". It was organized in November, 1906, at Houston, Texas. It has already 800 members, and is growing rapidly. It is known as the "German Immigration League of Texas". The officers of the League are George P. Zeiss, of Houston, president; Friedrich Hofheinz, of New Braunfels, first vice-president, and M. Tillig, of Houston, secretary. The various German societies of Texas are joining the league in a body. The league begins its work in March of this year (1907) by publishing 100,000 pamphlets descriptive of Texas and its industries. These are to be sent to Germany. The president is to go in July of this year (1907) to Germany to lecture on Texas, besides advertising by other methods. That German immigration increased is expected.<sup>66</sup>

#### INDUSTRIES.

The Germans have always been famed for their industry. It was as true in Texas as it was in the Fatherland. Probably no settlements in the South of similar size could show as many varied industries as the small German settlements of Western Texas. The immigrants settling in that district of the State were able to keep their racial identity. The skilled workman of Germany was able to continue his trade on coming to Texas. What town in the South of like size could show as many different industries previous to the Civil War as New Braunfels after its

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>65</sup> This paragraph is based on *Handbuch des Deuththums im Auslande*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 116-117.

<sup>66</sup> *The Passing Show*, San Antonio, Texas, February 23, 1907.

first year of settlement? It had in 1845 one retail store, three groceries, a silversmith, a coppersmith, a saddler, six shoemakers, four cabinetmakers, a wagon maker, a locksmith, two tanneries, three cigar factories, a bakery, and a house painter. The "Verein" had two civil engineers in its employ.<sup>67</sup> That association brought over several druggists, physicians, etc. The majority of the population at first as to-day, was engaged in agriculture. To-day there are said to be 22,384 German farmer families in Texas.<sup>68</sup> Farming was carried on on a small scale. As in Germany, intensive agriculture was used in Texas. This resulted partly from the fact that the "Verein" gave each settler ten acres of land. Olmsted describes the farms about New Braunfels as follows:

"They lived in little log cabins, and had inclosures of ten acres of land about them. \* \* \* The greater variety of the crops which had been grown upon their allotments, and the more clean and complete tillage they had received contrasted favorably with the patches of corn-stubble, overgrown with crab-grass, which are usually the only gardens to be seen adjoining the cabins of the poor whites and slaves. The people themselves were also to be seen, men, women and children, busy at some work."<sup>69</sup>

The nobles as well as the peasants engaged in an industry of some kind. In the early forties, men like the von Roeders were farmers, Julius Kleberg, Sr., who had held important positions in Germany, at one time made cigars.<sup>70</sup> Count Henckel von Donnersmark kept the first grocery in New Braunfels.<sup>71</sup> Roemer says regarding him:

"The other wooden building was the inn of the place, also at the same time mercantile house and hostelry. Its owner is a young German count, H. v. D., who earlier an ensign in the Prussian army, had immigrated to Texas under Prince Solms the year before my arrival and had developed such a practical, worldly wisdom and activity for the foundation of his external welfare, that he had gained in less than a course of a year many thousands of dollars. \* \* \* The inn, to which he especially thanks his fortunate financial condition, took its origin from the most unimportant be-

<sup>67</sup> Letter May 14, 1845. *Kordül*, pp. 306-307.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Ch. III, p. 61, *supra*.

<sup>69</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 140.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Ch. II, *supra*.

<sup>71</sup> *San Antonio Express*, October 4, 1903.

ginnings, as he at the time of the founding of the city sold by draught brandy bought at San Antonio by the barrel.<sup>72</sup> Baron Wedemeyer, son of the Prime Minister to the King of Hanover, ran a farm. Beer and wine were dispensed by Baron Kriewitz von Zypry, from Berlin, who lived among the Indians several years.<sup>73</sup> Baron von Nauendorf sold liquors. Baron von Dalhigh was a 'cowboy.'<sup>74</sup> Officers, counts, barons, noblemen, are seen here metamorphosed as ox-drivers, farmers and servants. \* \* \* A Herr von C., who had earlier eaten at the royal table in the Hanoverian court, was engaged as a Texan postillion.<sup>75</sup>

In 1847, a letter from New Braunfels states that mechanics and laboring men of all kinds are very busy and are well paid and many such will find good opportunities and business as well as a good support for life.<sup>76</sup> The place at that time had two apothecaries, two physicians, several bakeries, and a beer brewery.<sup>77</sup> As early as 1845 the majority of the hand workers and retailers of Galveston were composed of Germans.<sup>78</sup> An increasing number of mercantile pursuits were being occupied by men of that race.<sup>79</sup> It is declared that the Germans were so industrious that "they over-observed the 4th Commandment, and not only worked six days, but refused to rest on the Sabbath".<sup>80</sup> The *Texas State Gazette* declares in 1855:

"Where they have settled in any considerable number, the country around them looks more thriving and flourishing than in most other portions; so we say again let them come, there is room enough, and they will be made welcome."<sup>81</sup>

In 1857 New Braunfels contained fifteen drygoods and grocery stores, two drug stores, four hotels, eleven boarding houses, two theaters, one billiard saloon, ten blacksmith shops, two locksmiths, two gunsmiths, one printing office, one library, thirteen carpenters, thirteen stonemasons, five tanners, five bakeries, two brick and lime kilns, fifteen cabinetmakers, two uphol-

<sup>72</sup> Roemer, p. 122. This was in 1846.

<sup>73</sup> *San Antonio Express*, October 4, 1903.

<sup>74</sup> *The Passing Show*, San Antonio, February 23, 1907.

<sup>75</sup> *Atlantische Studien*, Vol. VI, p. 20.

<sup>76</sup> *Galveston Weekly News*, March 20, 1847; quoted in Bracht, p. 139.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Roemer, p. 59.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Southern Intelligencer*, May 27, 1857.

<sup>81</sup> *Texas State Gazette*, Austin, June 30, 1855.



sterers, four butchers, five wagon makers, one carriage factory, two nurseries, three ten pin alleys, five saddler shops, two jewelers, a great many tailors, three shoemakers, three doctors, and mechanics of almost every kind.<sup>82</sup>

"The town population which consists mostly of Germans, taken altogether is perhaps the most quiet, peaceable and industrious community in this or any other state in the Union."<sup>83</sup> According to Olmsted, in 1856, there were seven wagon manufactories in New Braunfels. The Germans were said to make better wagons than the Americans.

There were four grist mills in New Braunfels when Olmsted visited the town, a sash and blind factory was being erected, and a cotton factory was contemplated.<sup>84</sup> He states that half the population is composed of agricultural laborers, or farmers, who themselves follow the plough.<sup>85</sup> He gives the following as the number of mechanics and laborers:

Carpenters and builders.....	20
Wagon makers.....	8
Gun and Locksmiths.....	2
Coppersmiths .....	2
Machinists .....	2
Saddlers .....	3
Shoemakers .....	6
Turners .....	2
Tailors .....	5
Button and fringe makers.....	1
Tanners .....	3
Butchers .....	3
Bakers .....	4

He says that he does not "think that there is another town in the slave states in which the proportion to the whole population of mechanics, or of persons employed in the exercise of their own discretion in productive occupations, is one-quarter as large as in New Braunfels, unless it be some other in which the Germans are the predominating race."<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *Southern Intelligencer*, June 3, 1857.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> Olmsted, p. 142.

<sup>85</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 178.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

In 1858 a large manufacturing establishment was established at New Braunfels for the making of coarse fabrics.<sup>88</sup> The Comal river had quite a rapid current, and it furnished fine water power. It had a rocky bed and this made quite a falls near the town of New Braunfels. Most of the factories erected were run by water power.

The Counties of Comal and Gillespie are almost entirely composed of Germans. According to the Census of 1860, Comal had sixteen establishments, employing some thirty-two persons. Gillespie had thirty-eight, employing some fifty-eight persons. These were divided as follows:

Comal County Industries.	Number of Establishments.	Number of Employees.
Brick kilns .....	2.....	4
Flour and meal.....	7.....	9
Sawed lumber.....	3.....	8
Liquors, malt.....	2.....	6
Sash, door and blinds....	1.....	3
Soap and candles.....	1.....	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total:	16	32

It is noticeable that the Census does not mention the wagon factories for which New Braunfels, situated in Comal County, was noted.

Gillespie County, Establishments.	Number of Establishments.	Number of Employees.
Liquors, malt.....	1.....	3
Lumber, sawed.....	2.....	4
Saddles and harness....	3.....	5
Soaps and candles.....	1.....	1
Tin and sheet iron ware.	2.....	3
Wagons, carts, etc. ....	6.....	9
Coopering .....	1.....	1
Flour and meal.....	4.....	8
Furniture cabinet.....	10.....	10
Blacksmithing .....	8.....	14
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total:	38	58

<sup>88</sup> *Texas State Gazette*, Austin, December 25, 1858.

By the *Texas Almanac* for 1861, New Braunfels had a flour mill, four grist mills, two saw mills, one sash factory. All these were driven by water power. There were in Comal County two flour mills, nine grist mills, six saw mills, several shingle machines and two cotton gins.<sup>89</sup> In 1863 the Comal Cotton Manufacturing Company was chartered. It began manufacturing in 1865. From 1865-1867 there were manufactured 160,000 yards of domestics, 35,000 Osnaburgs, and 35,000 pounds of yarn. The labor was white, with the exception of three or four negro children. New Braunfels is said to be the first manufacturing town in the state. It contains a number of grist, flour and saw mills, several cotton gins and tanneries, several saddle tree factories and one sash and blind factory.<sup>90</sup> In 1868 a woolen factory was established at New Braunfels with a capital of \$40,000. This was the New Braunfels Woolen Manufacturing Company. It turned out forty pairs of blankets and two hundred yards of tweeds or yarns a day. Raw material was furnished from the neighborhood and labor from the town.<sup>91</sup> There were, at that time, 30 dry goods stores, three flour mills, three saw mills, a large factory for woolen cloth, one for cotton cloth, a sash factory, and mechanic shops of every kind.<sup>92</sup> In 1870 Comal County had 84 establishments employing 202 hands. There were two steam engines and seven water wheels in the town. Austin County at that time had 105 establishments, employing 213 hands; Galveston County, 91 establishments, employing 533 hands. These counties had a far larger population to draw from than those in which the German element predominated. These were the only two counties in the State that in any way approached Comal County in manufacturing. The latter county was almost entirely country around with wagons and carriages from its shops. It made from four to six thousand saddle trees annually.<sup>93</sup>

During Olmsted's stay in Texas he met a German scientist

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<sup>89</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1861, pp. 190-191.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 1868, pp. 180-181.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 150.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Guide to Western Texas*, 1876, p. 60.

who had obtained seeds from Egypt, Algiers, Arabia and St. Helena. These he had planted and was trying to ascertain which was best adapted to the climate. Wheat growing of any kind at that time (1857) was a novelty. The Germans were not satisfied with corn and would not transport wheat from the North like the Anglo-American planters. They grew a great quantity of wheat and that with considerable success.<sup>94</sup> Silk culture has been tried among the Germans in Texas. One German in Brenham, Washington County, planted many hundred Japan and Italian mulberry trees. His experience taught him to believe that silk could be raised profitably in the Southern States.<sup>95</sup>

#### THE CULTURE OF COTTON AMONG THE GERMANS IN TEXAS.

The custom of the Germans of carrying on agriculture intensively is shown especially in the culture of cotton. In some cases their cotton fields were not more than an acre in extent.<sup>96</sup> As in Germany, so here, they used intelligent economy in their methods of cultivation.<sup>97</sup> Their fields looked as if they had been judiciously cultivated, and yielded a fine crop.<sup>98</sup> Their fields differed from those of the large planters in that the cotton had been picked with care and exactness.<sup>99</sup> None of the cotton had been permitted to go to waste. Their cotton, although the stalks were smaller than those of the planters, were much more even or regular in its growth,<sup>100</sup> Von Halle says, that the cotton raised by these Germans was known as "free cotton" in the North, and was sought after with great avidity by cotton manufacturers.<sup>101</sup> On account of its greater cleanliness, it brought in the market from one to two cents a pound more than that picked by slave labor in the same township.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Olmsted, p. 170.

<sup>95</sup> *Jahrbuch für Texas*, 1882-84, p. 110.

<sup>96</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 141.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* Also Von Halle, *Baum-wool Production*, p. 355.

<sup>98</sup> Olmsted, *supra*.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Von Halle, p. 201.

<sup>102</sup> Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, II, p. 263. Cf. Speech by Cassius M. Clay, October 25, 1856; *Helper's Impending Crisis*, p. 207. Clay says he bases his statement on that of a slave owner.

Of the foreign-born population in 1850, 1,866,397 were in the non-slave-holding states and 378,205 were in the slave-holding states. Few foreigners engaged in cotton culture, but where they did, they proved the fallacy of the statement that cotton could not be raised profitably with free labor.<sup>103</sup> The Germans in Texas produced more cotton to the acre and of better quality than that raised by slaves.<sup>104</sup> The comparison between slave labor and free labor was fair to the former. The soil was new, and slave labor was employed there with its maximum advantage.<sup>105</sup> The small farmer was at a disadvantage with the plantation owner, in that he had to pay a proportionally larger amount for fencing. The plantation owner had his own horses and mules. The small farmer, in many cases, could not afford to own the animals he used. The plantation owner in many cases had his own gin and press in the midst of his cotton fields. The small farmer had to send his cotton some distance to be cleaned, and often was at the mercy of the plantation owner. The planter could keep better informed on the fluctuation of the market.<sup>106</sup> In one season it is said that the Germans of Texas would send 10,000 bales of cotton to the market.<sup>107</sup> This was a large amount proportionally to the number of people. It is even stated that half of the cotton grown in Texas is grown by white labor.<sup>108</sup> The *London News* of May 2, 1858, declares that:

"the proposals of slave trade, in the face of the success of the Germans in cotton cultivation, simply indicate the failure of slave labor in that State (Texas). \* \* \* An arid desert lies behind the belt of German cultivation, and the slaveholders must contend with white labor or go back whence they came."<sup>109</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Hammond, M. B., *Cotton Industry*, p. 63.

<sup>104</sup> *Helper's Impending Crisis*, p. 207.

<sup>105</sup> Hammond, pp. 98-99.

<sup>106</sup> Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, II, pp. 266-267.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Southern Intelligencer*, Austin, December 22, 1858.

<sup>109</sup> Quoted, *Texas State Gazette*, Austin, May 15, 1858.

(To be Continued.)

# German American Annals

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### THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN COAST OF LOUISIANA

AND

### THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT.

By J. HANNO DEILER,  
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New Orleans; La.

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(Continued.)

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#### THE CENSUS OF 1721.

The Louisiana Historical Society received from Paris, in December, 1904, a copy of the census taken by M. Diron, Inspector General of the French troops in Louisiana and signed by him, Bienville, Le Blond de la Tour, Duvergier, and de Cormes, on the 24th of November, 1721.

If this were a complete census of Louisiana, we should have an accurate description of the state of affairs on John Law's concession on the Arkansas River at the time when the German Law people were there; and also an accurate account of the two old German villages on the German Coast, which were flooded by the great hurricane of 1721. Unfortunately, however, it covers only New Orleans and vicinity, from below English Turn to Cannes Brûlées.<sup>25</sup>

As a matter of general interest, it may be stated from this

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<sup>25</sup> Cannes Brûlées was on the left bank of the Mississippi, six lieues or eighteen miles (by river) above New Orleans and immediately below the German Coast.

census that the white population of New Orleans in 1721 consisted of:

72	civilians, of whom 40 were married and had 29 children,	
44	soldiers, " " 14 " " " " no "	
11	officers, " " 2 " " " " one child each,	
22	ship captains and	
	sailors, 9 " " " " 7 children,	
28	European laborers ( <i>engagés</i> )	The names of the <i>engagés</i> are never given, neither is it stated whether or not they were married. The church records show that some of them were married.

There were also:

177 negro slaves,  
21 Indian slaves,  
36 cows, and  
9 horses.

Only *nine* horses in the whole town! Not even the governor of the colony of Louisiana could boast of a horse, and the cannon and the ammunition for the troops must have been drawn either by the soldiers themselves, or by negroes or cows, for the nine horses were private property. Trudeau had four of them, and Pierre and Mathurin Dreux owned the other five.

Furthermore, in eleven years, from 1721 to 1732, the number of horses increased only *from nine to fourteen!* Dr. Manade, of Chartres street, had two horses in 1732; the butcher Caron, of Chartres street, owned one; the blacksmith Botson, the interpreter Duparc, and the concessioner Bruslécs, all of St. Anne street, had one each; Dr. Alexander, of the hospital, owned one; clerk of the court Rossard, of Toulouse street, had three; and M. Marbaud, of Bourbon street, had four.

Judging from the family names the whole population of New Orleans was French in 1721, but there lived also one German family in New Orleans: "Johann Gustav Freitag, wife and child".

The town limits of New Orleans were then the river front, Dauphine, Ursuline and Bienville streets. At a later time "Chapitoulas Gate" was built at the upper end of the town, out of which ran the only road leading along the river up the coast, the "Chapitoulas Road".

All the land from the upper side of Bienville street up to the present "Southport", above Carrollton (Nine Mile Point), and from the Mississippi back to the present Claiborne avenue—213 1/2 arpents river front—belonged to Governor Bienville, who, after selecting the site for the future city of New Orleans in 1718, hastened to lay hold of as much as possible of the best land, adjacent to the coming city, and caused<sup>26</sup> the Superior Council of Louisiana to grant him this land immediately above New Orleans, as a concession, and to give him also a second concession of 112 arpents front on the other side of the Mississippi, beginning below the point of Algiers, "Pointe Saint Antoine", near the present Vallette street, and extending down the Mississippi.

After these two grants had been made by the Superior Council of Louisiana, on the 27th of March, 1719,<sup>27</sup> and while the matter was still pending before the directors of the *Compagnie des Indes* in Paris for their approval, a royal edict was issued on the 7th of November, 1719,<sup>28</sup> forbidding governors, lieutenant-governors, and intendants (Hubert, the intendant, had a fine concession in Natchez and another opposite New Orleans) to own plantations. They were allowed to have "vegetable gardens" only.

Notwithstanding this royal edict, Bienville, who had already received Horn Island in socage tenure,<sup>29</sup> had these two immense new grants approved by the directors in Paris on February 6th, 1720.<sup>30</sup>

In order to obey the letter, if not the spirit, of the royal edict, Bienville now designated 53 1/2 out of 213 1/2 arpents immediately above New Orleans as his habitation, "the vegetable garden", which extended from Bienville street to near our Fe-

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<sup>26</sup> That Bienville himself demanded these grants from the company is shown by the wording of the official documents. "Sur la demande de Mon sieur de Bienville," and again: "le terrain que vous avez choisy." Pages 12 and 20, *Concessions*, New Transcripts of the La. Hist. Soc.

<sup>27</sup> Volume *Concessions*, page 18.

<sup>28</sup> Fortier's *History of Louisiana*, I, 83.

<sup>29</sup> Grace King's *Bienville*, page 238.

<sup>30</sup> Volume *Concessions*, page 18.



licity Road, and from the Mississippi to our Claiborne avenue—a pretty good sized “vegetable garden”—comprising more than the whole first district of the present city of New Orleans.

Not satisfied with this, Bienville made a second “vegetable garden” by taking forty-nine arpents front by a depth of eighty arpents of his grant on the other side of the river and designating this also as his habitation.<sup>31</sup>

And as he was not allowed to work the remainder of his two big grants as plantations, he conceived the plan of introducing into Louisiana a system of feudal tenure, selling these lands to people for very burdensome annual ground rent in money and products, and also in manual labor.

Some of Bienville's first victims were twelve German families, storm victims, whom he placed on his lands above “the vegetable garden” above New Orleans, about January 1st, 1723, but who soon tired of enjoying the benevolent arrangements of “The Father of the Colony”, and left for other parts of Louisiana.<sup>32</sup>

On Bienville's land between Bienville street and Southport only one family lived in 1721. This was M. de Baume, attorney general of the colony at the time when the two grants were made to Bienville. He had six arpents front beyond the upper limit of “the vegetable garden”, where he resided with his wife and two children. He had three *engagés*, nine negro slaves, five cows, and two horses.

In 1722 Bienville came to New Orleans and established himself on his land where he occupied the square bounded by Bienville, Iberville, Decatur and Chartres streets.<sup>33</sup> The square behind, bounded by Bienville, Iberville, Chartres and Royal streets, he sold, together with other lands, in 1726, to the Jesuit fathers, who, on the first of May, 1728, purchased another five arpents from him and gradually acquired the whole territory up

<sup>31</sup> Volume *Concessions*, page 448. The people settled by Bienville on his Algiers' grant were all Canadians. Among them were three by the name of “Langlois.”

<sup>32</sup> They went up to the German Coast.

<sup>33</sup> In a map of 1728 (see U. S. Census of 1880) this square is marked: “Terre concédée à Mr. de Bienville,” and the square behind as: “Terrain aux Jésuites.”

to Felicity Road. The original Jesuits' plantation therefore began on Bienville street and not on Common street, as the legend says. Common street may have been the lower boundary at a later time, when it became necessary to use the ground from Bienville street to Canal street for the purpose of fortifying the town. This was after 1729, after the great massacre in Fort Rosalie.

Where Southport now stands, in the center of the great bend of the Mississippi above Carrollton, began "*le village des Chapi-toulas*". Hence "*Chapitoulas Gate*" in New Orleans, "*Chapitoulas Road*" and our present "*Tchoupitoulas street*".

In Chapi-toulas were the great plantations of Deubreuol, Chauvin de Léry, Chauvin la Frénière, and Chauvin Beaulieu, all Canadians. There was also, away from the river front, and two miles below Cannes Brûlées (Kenner), the so-called "*Koly*" concession. According to the census of 1721, there were on this place sixty-two white men, twelve white women with five children, forty-four negro slaves, two Indian slaves, five head of cattle, and four horses. The census says that on this place six hundred quarts of rice were made from fourteen quarts of seed rice.

There was a second so-called "*Koly*" plantation in Louisiana in 1721, called St. Catharine plantation, originally Hubert's concession, on which were, in 1723, forty-three white men, six white women with two children, forty-five negro slaves, two Indian slaves, fifty-two head of cattle, and two horses. These were, evidently, part of the same people who were moved to St. Catherine when the first "*Koly*" plantation was abandoned.

The "*Koly*" estate also owned a large house in New Orleans, on Chartres street, in which six Ursuline nuns lived with six boarding scholars and twenty-eight orphan girls. This house was later bought for a hospital, a sailor named Jean Louis having left a legacy of 10,000 livres for that purpose. This was the beginning of the "*Charity Hospital*" of New Orleans.

#### KOLY.

All Louisiana historians merely refer to Koly as a Swiss. This is all they say about him. But in a volume of the New Transcripts of the Louisiana Historical Society the author found information which throws more light upon him.

This volume contains a large number of official documents relating to the "Concession St. Catherine"; and in these papers, which do not state that Koly was a Swiss, "Jean Daniel Koly" is called "Councilor of the Financial Council of His Highness the Elector of Bavaria" (Elector Max Emanuel, who ruled from 1679 to 1726).

It appears from these documents that in 1718 an association was formed in Paris, of which Koly and the banker Deucher of Paris seem to have been the leading spirits. Among its members were several French officials of high rank, and also "Jean Le Chambrier escuyer Envoyé de Sa Majesté le Roy de Prusse à la Cour de France." The association had a capital of 400,000 livres, and, on the 11th of December, 1719, received from the Compagnie des Indes a land concession in Louisiana of four leagues square, the location of which was to be decided by the association.

On the 29th of December, 1719, Koly and Deucher, in the name of their associates, entered into a contract with Faucon Dumanoir, engaging him for a term of eight years as the director general of the association, with instructions to proceed with the necessary number of officials and *engagés* to Louisiana and there to select and manage the lands of the association. The principal plantation was to be called "St. Catherine," smaller posts to be named by the director general.

Dumanoir embarked on the 28th of May, 1720, on board the ship St. André at L'Orient, and arrived in Biloxi on the 24th of the following August with eleven officers, 186 workmen, twenty-three women, and six children. According to the names on the passenger list, only a few Germans seem to have been among them: Jean Bierzel and Jean Mayeur. Among the French workmen of this concession was François Forestier of St. Malo, a locksmith (*serrurier*) who later became "armurier," i. e., keeper of the armory of the king. François Forestier was the progenitor of the "Fortier" family in Louisiana.

In a letter dated Natchez, July 18th, 1721, Dumanoir describes his experiences on the voyage and in Biloxi. The Compagnie des Indes had engaged itself to transport *gratis* to Louisiana

the men and belongings of the association, and to feed officers and men, the first named at the captain's table and the latter with sailors' rations, not only during the sea voyage but also until they should arrive at their concession. The food furnished on board was of such bad quality, that Dumanoir had to give his people of his own provisions, which he had taken with him for his concession to bridge over the time until the first crop could be made on the new concession; and, finally the Company took forcibly from him more than four months' provisions and twenty-eight out of thirty-one large casks of wine. "This is the cause," Dumanoir complains in his letter, "why I have not drunk any wine for the last three months."

In Biloxi he found no sheds to store his goods, nor a hospital, and not even medicines for his sick. Ninety of his people died there of the fever which raged in Biloxi "for four years." There were no boats to take his men to the Mississippi, and they had to stay nearly eight months on the sandy shore. He himself built two barges in which he set off on the 23rd of April, 1721, with part of his men with whom he reached Natchez about the end of June. The rest of his people had to remain behind. Another authority says that they stayed in Biloxi for a whole year.

Dumanoir then had hardly enough provisions left to last for two months, which, together with the great loss of time, made it impossible for him to go into the wilderness and select a site for the new plantation. So Dumanoir, in January, 1721, bought Hubert's plantation in Natchez for 50,000 livres, and also twelve cows and two negroes from M. Raquet for 6,500 livres.

This was the best he could do under the circumstances, but his right to select four leagues square as a concession for his association was lost, Hubert's place offered many advantages. At Natchez there was a military post to furnish protection against the Indians, and there were already 160 arpents cleared which saved fifteen months of time, work, salaries, and other expenses. Moreover, the seed was in the ground for a large crop of provisions and tobacco. To satisfy immediate wants, however,

Dumanoir purchased another place, a little concession, the same mentioned under "Chapitoulas" in the census of 1721, which was later abandoned.

In 1727 charges of maladministration were made against Dumanoir, and he was deposed. It must have been then that Koly determined to come to Louisiana himself to take charge of the enterprise. He and his son were killed by the Natchez Indians in St. Catharine in the great massacre in 1729.

#### CONTINUATION OF THE CENSUS OF 1721.

The upper part of Chapitoulas was later called "La Providence," and extended to Cannes Brûlées, where M. Diron, the inspector general, had his concession. At this point the census of 1721 stops.

Seven lieues below New Orleans is English Turn. Immediately below this was at that time the second concession, the principal one being on the Yazoo River, of M. le Blanc, the French minister of war, and adjoining this was John Law's second concession, his principal one being on the Arkansas River. On this, the lower concession of Law, were, in 1721, five men, eleven women, fourteen children, and forty *engagés*. We have learned that all the Law people were Germans, and so we have a settlement of seventy Germans, in 1721, below English Turn.

This is all the information concerning the early Germans contained in the official census of 1721.

#### REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS ON LOUISIANA.

There are some fifteen pages of "Remarks and Observations on Louisiana," probably written by some reviewing official, attached to the census of 1721. These "R. & O.," as they will be indicated hereafter, bear no signature, nor is the first part, referring to lower Louisiana, dated. The second part, dealing with the Illinois district, is dated "in March, 1722." The second part was, therefore, written much later than the official census report; and the first part, too, can not have been written earlier than February, 1722, because it mentions the exodus of the Germans from the Arkansas River as an historical event, although it did not take place earlier than February, 1722.

Of the Germans on the German Coast "R. & O." say that "they may be composed of about 330 persons of both sexes and of all ages."

We are also told that there were then still eighty German people left on the Arkansas River. As La Harpe found only forty-seven Germans there on his arrival, on the 20th of March, 1722, "R. & O." must have been written after the removal of the people from there had begun and before it was completed.

"R. & O." AND THE CENSUS REPORTS.

February, 1722, "R. & O." Estimate of population of German Coast, 330 persons.

May 15th, 1722, Official census of German Coast:

Karlstein = D'Arensbourg and an orphan boy.....	2 persons,
Mariental = 26 men, 30 women, 26 children.....	82 persons,
Hoffen = 25 men, 29 women, 49 children.....	103 persons,
Augsburg = 17 men, 20 women, 33 children.....	70 persons.

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69 men, 79 women, 109 children.....257 persons.

The census of 1722, which is really a continuation of that of 1721, covers the territory from Cannes Brûlées to the village of the Tounicas, and the whole right bank besides. On the right bank, two lieues above New Orleans, at a place called "Le Petit Desert" (near Westwego) three German families are mentioned: three men, three women and seven children, who are not included here as residents of the German Coast.

November, 1724. Official census:

German Coast—53 men, 57 women, 59 children, in all 169 persons.

1731. Official Census:

German Coast—42 men, 44 women, 88 children, in all 174 persons.

There is a great discrepancy between the figures of the writer of "R. & O." and those of the census of 1722, although there were scarcely three months time between them:

330 given by "R. & O.," against 247 enumerated in the census.

Although the mortality among these Germans was very great, as we can see by comparing the official data of the different years enumerated above, this alone would not explain the difference between the estimate of "R. & O." and that of the census of 1722. There must have been some other cause.

And there was. There was an exodus, of which the official census of 1722, enumerating only those actually present on the day of enumeration, did not take notice, but which is mentioned in other official documents.

On the first of December, 1722, Governor Bienville wrote to the Superior Council that he intended to place from twelve to fifteen German families upon his land between New Orleans and Chapitoulas, and he specifies:

"Of those Germans who lost their subsistence by the great hurricane and are now compelled to seek employment in order to provide for their families".

He would not enter into contracts with them, however, without the consent of the Superior Council. Ten days afterwards the council approved these contracts

"With the Germans who have engaged themselves to begin a new establishment on account of the bad situation and the difficulties they encountered on the lands which they occupied 'aux Tensas'".

"Le village des Tensas"<sup>34</sup> was part of the German Coast, known as the concession of M. De Meure. This De Meure, in 1721, sold the whole river front of his grant (four lieues square) to La Harpe, leaving a passage of only three arpents from the river front to the land in the rear, which latter he retained. The front lands were then taken up by the Germans.<sup>35</sup>

This correspondence between Bienville and the Superior Council proves that there was an exodus, and also establishes the fact that a number of Germans, who had been *habitants* were

<sup>34</sup> The Tensas Indians were removed, in 1714, to Mobile County, because the Oumas constantly and habitually waged a relentless war against them.

<sup>35</sup> As La Harpe also appears in March, 1722, on the Arkansas river, depositing Levens, the agent of John Law, taking the inventory, and placing Dudenaine Dufresne in charge, he seems to have acted in these transactions under the authority of the *Compagnie des Indes*.

compelled to become *engagés*. It also explains the apparent discrepancy between the estimate of "R. & O." and the census of 1722. The writer of "R. & O." did not know that so many storm victims had left their places to become *engagés*, and the census enumerator took cognizance only of those present on the day of enumeration.

The great mortality mentioned before appears when the census reports for 1722 and 1724 are compared. In these two years the number of the men decreased from 69 to 53, the women from 79 to 57, and the children from 108 to 59. Then came a change. The adults, not being reinforced by new immigration, continued to decrease in numbers, while the number of children born in the colony rose from 59 to 88, more than making up for the loss of grown people. We may well assume that from that year on the population of the German Coast continued to increase.

In connection with the census of 1731 an important fact must be mentioned. The large concessions granted in former years in Louisiana had not proved advantageous to the colony. Many concessioners did not come to Louisiana at all, holding their grants only for speculation. Others had not the means to improve them, and still others abandoned them after experimenting on the ground with insufficient capital, and experiencing all kinds of difficulties, and because of the unwise administration of the colony. So the Superior Council petitioned the king to cancel all concessions between Manchac and the gulf, in order that a readjustment could be had.

This cancellation was done by an edict issued on the 10th of August, 1728; and even Bienville, who in the preceding year had sold to the Jesuits some of his land above New Orleans, lost his concessions, although in his brief of remonstrance he cited the placing of twelve German families on that land as an evidence that he had tried to improve it.

Many lands, especially on the left bank of the Mississippi, opposite the German villages, were now open to *bona fide* settlers, and many changes in the occupants of the land occurred. Ambros Heidel, the progenitor of all the "Haydel" families in Louis-



iana, crossed the Mississippi and settled on the left bank. So did his old neighbor Caspar Dubs, the progenitor of all the "Toups" families, and so did Nikolaus Wichner, the progenitor of the "Vicners," "Vicnaires," and "Vickners," while all those German families who had settled on Bienville's lands between New Orleans and Chapitoulas, the storm victims, also went further up the river to live among their compatriots.

NAMES OF GERMAN HABITANTS ON BOTH BANKS OF THE  
MISSISSIPPI ABOVE NEW ORLEANS.

*Official Census of 1724.*

The official census taken in November, 1724, must always be the principal source of information concerning the founders of the German Coast in Louisiana. It will, therefore, be treated here at some length; and such notes will be added to it as were taken from other census reports, from church registers, and other official sources.

The official census of 1724 embraces the concessions and habitations on both sides of the Mississippi River from New Orleans to and including the German Coast. It consists of two parts of sixty entries each. The first part covers the right bank from the upper limits of the German villages (upper side of Bonnet Carré bend) down to a point nearly opposite New Orleans; and the second part begins at the upper town limit of New Orleans on the left bank (at what is now Bienville street) and follows the left bank up the river to a point ten lieues above and opposite the German villages, where the first part began.

Concerning the spelling of the German family names the reader is referred to the section of this work on the changes German names suffered at the hands of the French officials. Having met these names in many official records and church registers, and having found the same names spelt differently by many officials, and having also found original signatures of the German people, the author was in many instances able to restore the original German names. Where this was not possible, a question mark follows the name here.



As to the names of the birthplaces, also, a few words of explanation are needed. As the German people pronounced these names usually in their home dialect, the French officials were entirely at sea as to their correct forms, and wrote them down so that, in many cases, they cannot be recognized. Many people also came from little hamlets the names of which are not to be found even in such works as Neumann's "Orts- und Verkehrs-Lexikon," which contains 75,000 names of places in the German empire, and gives the names of all places of 300 and more inhabitants.

Of frequent occurrence in this census, and of special importance, are the names "Palatinate" (Pfalz), "Mayence" (Mainz), and "Spire" (Speyer). The Palatinate of the eighteenth century was much larger than the present Palatinate. It included the northern portions of Baden and Wurtemberg, extending nearly to the towns of Heilbronn and Wimpfen, and the Elector Palatinate resided then in Heidelberg. Accordingly, some places given in this census as belonging to the Palatinate may now have to be looked for in Baden and Wurtemberg.

The name "Spire" may signify the city of Spire and the small territory that belonged to the bishop of Spire. But if Spire means the diocese of Spire, then the whole Palatinate is included. The bishop of Spire at that time resided alternately in Spire and Durlach.

The name "Mayence" may mean the city of Mayence; it may mean the electorate of Mayence, a much larger territory, and it may mean the archdiocese of Mayence. The last included, also, the whole of Franconia, with the dioceses of Wuerzburg and Bamberg, which now belong to Bavaria.

Of the names of the three German villages, "Hoffen," "Mariental," and "Augsburg," on the German Coast of Louisiana, and mentioned in the census of 1724, two, Hoffen and Augsburg, occurred before in the passenger lists of the four pest ships which sailed from L'Orient, in France, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1721. They were used in the passenger lists to indicate the parish of birth of some of the emigrants.

RIGHT BANK OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

The German Village of Hoffen, 10 Lieues Above New Orleans.  
November 12th, 1724.

Simon Lambert is mentioned as "premier habitant et le plus haut sur le fleuve," the habitant living highest up on the right bank of the Mississippi. This location was on the upper side of Bonnet Carré Bend, about four miles below Edgard in the parish of St. John the Baptist. Lambert's habitation bears the number one. Thence the census enumerator proceeded down the right side of the river.

1. *Simon Lambert*, of Oberebesheim, diocese of Spire, Catholic; 40 years of age. His wife; and a son, 18 years of age. Five arpents cleared. Gave up his first place on account of inundation.

1726: Six arpents cleared.

1731: Occupant of this place, Jean Martin Lambert, son of the aforementioned, with wife and child.

1764: Bartholomew Lambert, son of Jean Martin Lambert and Anna Eve Lambert, married Margarethe Troxler, daughter of Geo. T. and Marie Agnes Troxler.

2. *Conrad Friedrich*, of Rothenberg, diocese of Spire. (There is one Rothenberg east of Mannheim.) Catholic; 50 years old. His wife and three children. A daughter of 18 years; the youngest child five years old. Gave up first place on account of inundation. "A good worker".

1726: Six arpents cleared.

1726: Daughter Anna Barbara married Friedrich Merkel from Wurtemberg, and, after whose death she married Nikolaus Wichner. Nikolaus Wichner and Anna Barbara Friedrich were the progenitors of most of the "Vicners", "Vicnaires" and "Vickners".

1728: Daughter Anna Maria married Edw. Poupart, of Paris.

1731: One child at home. Two negroes; one cow.

About 1750 Sebastian Friedrich, son of Conrad Friedrich, married Regina Heidel (Haydel), daughter of Ambros Heidel, of St. John the Baptist. They lived below New Orleans.

3. *Johann Georg Troxler*, of Lichtenberg in Alsace. Catholic; 26 years old. A mason. His wife. "Fort bon travailleur". Two and one-half arpents cleared, on which he has been only since the beginning of the year having left the village in the rear.

Exposed to inundation. Absent because of bad health. His wife is also sick. Lost his crop and his house. A neighbor, who cooked in a shed attached to Troxler's house, accidentally set fire to it.

1731: Two children. Two negroes; one cow.

Johann Georg Troxler was the progenitor of all the "Troxler" and "Trosclair" families in Louisiana.

4. *Johann Georg Bock*, from the neighborhood of Fort Kehl in Baden. Catholic; 38 years old; weaver. His wife with child at the breast. One and a half arpents cleared. Two years on the place.

1729: Marie Francoise, daughter of J. G. Bock and Cath. Hislinger, baptized.

1731: Three children. One negro.

Now come the two tracts of land abandoned by Lambert and Friedrich.

5. *Wilhelm Ziriak*, also "Querjac", "Siriaque", and "Siriac", of Ilmenstadt, near Mayence. Formerly coachman to King Stanislaus. Catholic; 50 years old. His wife and daughter, seven years old. Two and a half arpents cleared. Two years on the place. "One of the more well to do people of the community. A good worker."

1731: Only husband and wife mentioned. His daughter became the first wife of Ludwig Wiltz, the progenitor of the New Orleans branch of the Wiltz family, which is now extinct in the male line. All of the name of Wiltz now living belong to the Mobile branch of the family.

6. *Johann Callander*, of Aubrequin (Ober . . . ?), Palatinate. Catholic; 26 years old. His wife. A daughter. Sister-in-law; mother-in-law. One year on the place. Six arpents cleared, two and a half of which he bought from Peter Schmitz, and two and a half of which belonged to his mother-in-law and his children.

1731: One child. One negro; one cow.

7. *Stephan Kistenmacher*, of Cologne. Catholic; 39 years old. His wife and a daughter of 10 years. One and a half arpents cleared. Two years on the place. "Sick, broken down, miserable."

1728: His daughter Margarethe married Louis Leonhard, from the Arkansas post.

1731: Husband, wife and child. One *engagé*. One negro; one cow.

8. *Jeremias Wagner*, of Orensburg (?) in the marquise of Ansbach (Bavaria). Lutheran; 27 years of age. Hunter. His wife with a child at the breast. Sister-in-law. Two arpents cleared. One year on the place. "Very good man and a great hograiser".  
1726: Six arpents cleared.
9. *Leonhard Magdolf*, of Hermnse (?) , Wurtemberg. Catholic; 45 years old. His wife. An adopted orphan boy, 10 years old. Two and a half arpents cleared. One year on the place. "A good worker. Has a very fine garden, is well lodged, and very prosperous in his affairs."  
1726: Six arpents cleared.  
1731: No children. Three cows.
10. *Andreas Schantz* (Chance), of Hochhausen, Franconia. Catholic; 25 years old. Miller. His wife with a child at the breast. Stepdaughter of 15 years. "A good man, well lodged." Has a cow from the company and a calf of eight days. A big hog and two little pigs.  
1726: Andreas Schantz married Maria Magdalena Gaffel, daughter of Leonhard G. and Cath. Wolf.  
1731: Two children. Four negroes; four cows.
11. *Johann Georg Betz*, of Weibstadt, diocese of Spire. Catholic; 32 years old. Butcher and *prévôt*. His wife with a child at the breast. An orphan girl, nine years of age. Three arpents cleared. Three years on the place. A cow, a calf, and two pigs.  
1727: On the first of July, 1727, Betz, his wife, and two children are reported as inmates of the hospital in New Orleans, and on the 24th of August Betz died. His widow, who was a sister of Ambros Heidel (Haydel), then married Caspar Diehl of Alsace. The whole family, Diehl, his wife, two children, "a brother" (whose brother?) were murdered in 1729 by the Natchez Indians in the great massacre in Natchez.
12. *Johann Adam Matern*, of Rosenheim, in Upper Alsace. Catholic; 26 years old. Weaver. His wife with a child at the breast; two sisters-in-law, 18 and 20 years of age. One and a half year on the place. Two and a half arpents cleared. "A good worker", who deserves some negroes. Three pigs.  
1731: Three children. Three negroes; seven cows.
13. *Caspar Dubs* (Toups) from the neighborhood of Zurich, Switzerland. Protestant; 40 years of age. Butcher and *prevost*. His wife; two boys, 10 and 12 years old. Two years on the place. One and a half arpents cleared. Three pigs.  
1728: Caspar Dubs married Maria Barbara Kittler, from Wurtemberg.

1731: Six arpents cleared.

Caspar Dubs was the progenitor of all the Toups families in Louisiana.

14. *Ambros Heidel* (Haydel), of Neukirchen, electorate of Mayence. Catholic; 22 years old. Baker. His wife; his brother, 18 years old; his brother-in-law, aged 13, crippled. One and a half year on the place. "Good worker, very much at ease." One pig.

Ambros Heidel' younger brother is mentioned for the last time in 1727. It is possible that he was murdered by the Natchez Indians with the family of his sister. See No. 11. From the entry there it does not appear whether the brother murdered was the husband's or the wife's brother.

1731: Ambros Heidel, wife, two children. One *engagé*. Three negroes and two cows.

15. *Jacob Ritter*, of Lustuen in Wurtemberg (Lustnau near Tubingen?). Catholic; 28 years old. Shoemaker. His wife. One and a half arpents cleared. Six months on the place. One pig.

1726: Four arpents cleared.

1731: Two cows.

16. *Michael Vogel*, of Altdorf, Suevia, Germany. Catholic; 40 years old. Cooper. A little hard of hearing. Son of two years, daughter of eleven years in New Orleans. Sixteen verges cleared. (Ten verges=one arpent.) Two years on the place. One pig.

1726: Four arpents cleared.

1726: Margarethe Vogel, his daughter, married Jean Bosier, farmer from Natchitoches.

1731: Two children. One negro; two cows.

17. *Sebastian Funck*, of Hagenau, Alsace. Catholic; 30 years old. His wife. Child of one year; orphan girl of 16 years. Two years on the place. Five arpents cleared, which he bought from two Germans, of whom one went to Natchitoches, while the other took land from Governor Bienville near New Orleans, which he has now held two years. One pig.

1726: Husband, wife, two children. Four arpents cleared.

18. *Michael Horn*, of Limbal, near Mayence. Catholic; 39 years old. His wife and a daughter of eight years. Fifteen verges cleared. Fifteen days on the place. Came from "the old village". His sickness prevents him from succeeding. Michael Horn's daughter married Louis Toups.

1726: Four arpents cleared.

19. A strip of land of eight verges for the surgeon of the community. A hut on it. Abandoned.

Here ends the village of Hoffen, and the census man now leaves the river front and proceeds to the two old villages in the rear, which were mentioned before.

*Old German Village* (i. e., the "second" one. See before.). Three-fourths of a mile from the Mississippi.

20. *Balthasar Monthé*, of Troppau, in Silesia, Germany. Catholic; 42 years old. His wife. Daughter of 13 months. One and a fifth arpents cleared. Three years on the place. "A good worker. Everything well arranged on his place. Was sick the whole summer." Two pigs. He died in 1727.
21. *Johann Georg Raeser*, of Biebrich, in the electorate of Mayence. Catholic; 32 years old. Blacksmith. His wife. An orphan girl of 18 years. Two arpents cleared. Three years on the place. "Well arranged. Good worker."  
1726: Husband, wife, three children, brother-in-law. Six arpents cleared. One pig.  
1731: Husband, wife, one child.
22. *Johann Jacob Bebloquet* (?) of Lamberloch, Alsace. Lutheran; 36 years old. Hunter. His wife. Three children, two boys and one girl, ranging from two to thirteen years of age. One and a half arpents cleared. Three years on the place. Two pigs. "Well arranged. Good worker."
23. *Johann Cretzmann* (Kretzmann), of canton Berne, Switzerland. Calvinist; 46 years old. His wife; son of five years. One and a half arpents cleared. "His affairs well regulated. Demands his passage." Did not get it.  
1726: As widower of Barbara Hostmann, Johann Cretzmann married Susanna Rommel (Rome), daughter of Heinrich Rommel, and sister of Johann Rommel. See No. 26.  
1731: Husband; wife; three children. Six arpents cleared.
24. *Balthasar Marx*, of Wullenberg, Palatinate (one Wollenberg near Wimpfen), Catholic; 27 years old. Nailsmith. His wife, 22 years old. "His wife had a miscarriage last year on account of working at the pounding trough ('pilon'). He went to New Orleans to get some salt and had to give a barrel of shelled rice for three pounds. His affairs excellently arranged. Good worker." One and a half arpents cleared. Three years on the place.  
1731: Husband, wife, two children. One *engagé*. One negro; three cows.  
1775: *Jean Simon Marx*, son of Balthasar and Marianne Aglae Marx, married Cath. Troxler, daughter of Nik. T. and Cath. Matern (St. James parish).



- 25 Bernard Wich, of Tainlach, in Wurtemberg. Lutheran; 46 years old. His wife. Three children, a boy and two girls, from 13 years down to two months. Two arpents cleared. A pig.  
1731: Two children. One *engagé*. One negro.
26. *Johann Rommel* (now Rome), of Kinhart, Palatinate. Catholic; 24 years of age. Tailor. His wife. One and a half arpents cleared. Three years on the place. A pig.  
1728: Jean Rommel baptized.  
1731: Three children. Two cows.
27. *Catharine Weller* (ine), 49 years old, from Heilbronn, Wurtemberg, widow of August Paul, a Lutheran, a tailor. "Expects a child. Alone and poor. Has no provisions and needs some assistance. Six verges cleared."
28. *Anna Kuhn*, widow of Johann Adam Zweig (Labranche). Her husband was a Catholic, and died in Biloxi. Daughter of twelve years. One and a half arpents cleared. "Has no provisions and no seed for the next year. Needs some assistance."  
1729: Daughter Anna Margarethe Zwieg married Pierre Bridel, a soldier, and a native of Bretagne. According to the marriage entry the bride was born in Bollweiler, Alsace.
29. *Magdalena Fromberger*, 50 years old. Catholic; widow of George Meyer from Ingitippil (?), Suevia, Germany. "Her son, Nik. Mayer, is crippled but industrious in the cooper trade. He also makes galoches which are a great help when shoes are scarce. An orphan girl, 20 years old. One and a half arpents cleared. Three years on the place. A pig.  
1731: Nik. Meyer. His wife and a child. One *engagé*. Two negroes; two cows.
30. *Margarethe Reynard* (Reinhard?), from Bauerbach, Baden. Catholic; 46 years old. Separated from Johann Leuck (?), who lives on the Mississippi. Daughter from first marriage, aged seven years. Seven verges cleared. Three years on the place.
31. *Catherine Hencke*, of Horenburg, Brandenburg, widow of Christian Grabert, a Catholic, who died in Biloxi, aged 50 years. A daughter, 14 years old. Both sick. She needs some assistance and is very willing to work. Two arpents cleared.
32. *Christian Grabert*, Grabert, of Brandenburg. Catholic; 23 years old. His wife. An orphan child, 13 years old. Two arpents cleared. Three years on the place. One pig.  
1726: Christian Grabert, his wife, mother-in-law, sister-in-law, and sister. Six arpents cleared.

1731: Husband, wife, three children. Two cows.  
Descendants of the Grabert family still live in Ascension parish, La.

33. *Andreas Necker*, of Dettenhausen, Wurtemberg. Lutheran; 36 years old. Miller. His wife. Two arpents cleared. One year on the place. Two pigs.
34. *Jacob Oberle*, of Zabern, Alsace. Catholic; 35 years old. Two arpents cleared. One year on the place.

The four arpents occupied by Necker and Oberle were situated between the two old villages and had served as a cemetery; but when the German people moved to the river front this cemetery was abandoned, whereupon Necker and Oberle took possession of it "a year ago". D'Arensbourg, however, whose land was contiguous to the cemetery, also claimed it on the ground that these four arpents had been cleared by the community.

("FIRST") OLD GERMAN VILLAGE.

One mile and a half from the Mississippi and adjoining the "second" village.

35. *Andreas Schenck*, from Saxony; Lutheran; 35 years old. Farmer, *prévôt* of a village. His wife and a child of two years. Land at discretion. Always serves with the troops as a musician.

1727: Andreas Schenck, wife and two children.

36. *Marcus Thiel*, of Bergwies, Silesia. Lutheran; 43 years old. Shoemaker. His wife. Land at discretion. Always sick.
37. *Moritz Kobler*, of Berne, Switzerland. Calvinist; 64 years old. Butcher. Served for thirty years in France in Swiss regiments. His wife. Land at discretion. Wants to return to France.

1729: Kobler's widow, Emerentia Lottermann, of Berne, married in this year Jacob Weisskraemer, from Bavaria, whose wife as well as his parents, Abraham and Magdalena W., had died at Fort Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1745 Jacob Weisskraemer married in Pointe Coupée Margarethe Françoise Sara, the widow of one Jolier.

38. *Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg*, "captain reformé", aged 31 years. An orphan boy from 10 to 12 years old. A cow and a calf from the company. A bull belonging to him. Two pigs. Twelve arpents. Not much cleared from lack of force.

The census here informs us that the village just mentioned (the first old German village) had been founded by twenty-one German families, that some had died and others had moved to the river front, having been drowned out by the great hurricane three years previous. Schenck, Thiel and Kobler seem to have come over from the second village. This is the reason why these three had "land at their discretion," there being, as the census remarks, at least 100 arpents of beautifully cleared land in the neighborhood of this village, cleared, no doubt, by the twenty-one German families, the founders of the first village. But now, the census continues, these three men also want to leave and move to the other village (the second one), nearer to those abandoned lands, which they would now like to take up. This, the census man thinks, would be right as far as those lands are concerned which were abandoned more than a year ago, because the parties who left had in the meantime been able to clear enough new land to support their families and to continue farming. The fourteen families remaining in the second village, nearer the river, were all doing well, except the widows, and did not think of moving.

Having completed the two villages in the rear, the compiler of the census now evidently begins again at the river front, going down.

39. *Andreas Traeger* (now Tregre), of Donauwoerth, Bavaria. Catholic; 37 years old; hunter. His wife with a child at her breast. Three arpents cleared. Two years on the place. "A good worker. Well lodged. His yard, 90 x 90, staked off with palisades. Well cleared. Birds have caused a great deal of damage." One cow from the company. One pig.  
     1726: Four arpents cleared.  
     1731: Husband, wife, three children. Two negroes; three cows.  
     Andreas Traeger was the progenitor of all the Tregre families in Louisiana.
40. *Jacob Lueck*, of Weissenburg. Forty-five years old. Separated from his wife, who lives in the village (See No. 30). "Left his place to go to Natchez, but is back now. Lazy, and a very bad man."

41. *Andreas Hofmann*, from the marquisate of Ansbach, Bavaria. Catholic; 27 years old. His wife. A daughter aged seven years. One and a half arpents cleared. A pig.  
1726: Four arpents cleared.  
1731: Husband, wife and four children.
42. *Mathias Friedrich*, of Weilersheim, Alsace. (There were two Friedrich families in the colony then.) (See No. 2.) Catholic; 29 years old. His wife with a child at the breast. An orphan girl, aged 15 years. One and a half arpents cleared. "Good worker." A cow from the company. A calf and three pigs.  
1726: Husband, wife, and three children. Six arpents cleared.  
1731: Four cows.
43. *Bernhard Reusch*, from the Palatinate. Catholic; 52 years of age. Tailor. His wife. A son of fifteen and a daughter of eleven years. One and a half arpents cleared. Two years on the place. Water caused much damage. Two pigs.  
1726: Four arpents cleared.
44. *Paul Klomp* (Klump?), of Bauerbach, near Karlsruhe, Baden. Catholic; 30 years old. His wife. A son three and a half years old. An orphan boy of 12 years. One and a half arpents cleared. Three years on the place. Ground overflowed. Has been sick.  
1724: Four arpents cleared.
45. *The Chapel* with house and kitchen. Garden. Cemetery of about one and a half arpents. It was at the completion of this new cemetery that the cemetery between the two old villages was abandoned.
46. *Adam Schmits*, a widower of Isnen, Suevia, Germany. Lutheran; 44 years old. Shoemaker. A daughter of nine years. Two years on the place. Eight verges cleared. "Works at his trade, making galoshes."
47. *Johann Rodler*, of Rastadt, Baden. Catholic; 35 years old. Locksmith. Works at his trade. His wife. Two years on the place. Eight verges cleared. Deaf.  
1726: Four arpents cleared.
48. *Anton Distelzweig*, of Selz, Alsace. Catholic; 29 years old. His wife. One child, one and a half years old. "Good worker." Three arpents or 32 verges cleared.
49. *William Pictot*, 50 years old, from Bretagne.
50. *Friedrich Merkel*, from Wurtemberg. Catholic; 30 years old. His wife Marianne Kohleisen. Sixteen verges cleared. Two years on the place. "Good worker." Two pigs.

1726: Four arpents cleared. In the same year Friedrich Merkel married Anna Barbara Friedrich, daughter of Conrad F. and Ursula Frey. (See No. 2). Merkel's name occurs for the last time in the census of 1727. Anna Barbara Friedrich, his widow, then married Nik. Wichner. (See No. 2).

51. *Peter Muench*, of Oberheim, in the Palatinate. Catholic; 40 years old. His wife. A son, one year old. Two arpents cleared. Two years on the place. Works at his trade.  
1726: Four arpents cleared.
52. *Andreas Struempfl*, of Ottersheim, near Fort Kehl, Baden. Catholic; 23 years old. His wife. Two daughters. Two arpents cleared. Two years on the place. A cow and a calf; two pigs.  
1728: Anna Barbara Struempfl baptized.  
Another daughter by the name of Agnes married, about 1748, Johannes Ettler, of Colmar, Alsace.  
1731: Three children. Two cows.
53. *Johann Adam Richl*, of Hatzweiler, Basle, Switzerland. Catholic; 45 years old. Carpenter. His wife. Daughter of five months. One and a half arpents cleared. Two years on the place.
54. *Jacques Poché*, 45 years old, native of Omer, in Artois.
55. *Joseph Wagensbach* (now Waguespack), of Schwobsheim, Upper Alsace. Catholic; 23 years old. His wife. One and a half arpents cleared. Two years on the place.  
1726: One child. Six arpents cleared.  
1731: Three children. Two negroes; two cows.  
Joseph Wagensbach was the progenitor of all the Waguespack families in Louisiana.
56. *Sibylla Heil*, widow of Wiedel, 37 years old, of Elchingen, Suevia, Germany. Catholic. Two years on the place. One and a half arpents cleared. "A good worker."
57. *Johann Adam Edelmeier*, of Reiheim, Palatinate. Calvinist; 50 years old. Cooper. Two boys, 10 and 14 years of age. A daughter, Maria Barbara, married Lionnois, a sailor from Lyons. Three arpents cleared. Two pigs. "A very good worker, who deserves attention."  
1726: Six arpents cleared.  
1728: Marie Christine Edelmeier baptized.  
1731: Five children. One negro; two cows.
58. *Philipp Zahn*, of Grosshoefflein, Hungary. Catholic; 25 years of age. His wife. Three arpents cleared. Two years on the place. A pig.

- 1726: One child. Four arpents cleared.  
1727: As widower of Margarethe Wiethen (ine) Philipp Zahn married in this year Marie Schlotterbecker of Wurtemberg, widow of Jacob Stalle and sister of the wife of Thomas Lesch.

The census at this time mentions the land forming the passage of three arpents' width, leading from the river front to the concession of M. de Meure. According to a map of 1731, this place was about two miles above Hahnville.

59. *Johann Jacob Foltz* (now "Folse"), of Ramstein, Palatinate. Catholic; 26 years old. Shoemaker. His wife. A child of one year. Four arpents cleared. Two years on the place. One pig. This year made only seven barrels of rice on account of inundation. Was sick the whole summer.  
1731: Two children. Two cows.
60. *Bernhard Anton*, of Schweigen, in Wurtemberg. Lutheran; 30 years old. His wife. A boy, 10 years old. About four arpents cleared. Two pigs. Two years on the place. Made this year 20 barrels of rice, and would have also made 60 barrels of corn, if there had been no inundation. "Good worker."  
1731: Three children. One *engagé*. Six cows.

After enumerating these families, the census of 1724 continues:

"All these German families enumerated in the present census raise large quantities of beans and mallows, and do much gardening, which adds to their provisions and enables them to fatten their animals, of which they raise many. They also work to build levees in front of their places.

"If all these small farmers were in the neighborhood of New Orleans they could raise vegetables and poultry. They could make their living well and add to the ornament of the town, as their small frontage on the river brings their houses with the gardens behind them so close together that they look like villages. But this agreeable condition unfortunately does not exist in New Orleans, owing to the greed for land of those who demanded large concessions, not with the intention of cultivating them, but only of reselling them.

"If these German families, the survivors of a great number who have been here, are not assisted by negroes, they will gradually perish; for what can a man and his wife accomplish on a piece of land, when, instead of resting themselves and taking their meals after their hard work, they must go to the pounding trough (*pilon*) to prepare their food, a very toilsome work, the consequences of which are dangerous for men and women. Many receive injuries,

and many women get seriously hurt. When one of the two falls sick, it is absolutely necessary that the other should do all the work alone, and thus both perish, examples of which are not rare.

"The ground is so hard in the lower part of the colony that one must always have the hoe ready, and the weeds come out so strong and so quickly, that it seems after a short while as if no work had been done at all. The land is covered with dead trees and stumps, and these people have no draught animals (as this census shows there was not a single horse on the German Coast, and of the 56 families only six had cows), they cannot use the plow, but must always work with the pickaxe and the hoe.

"This together with the hard work on the *pilon*, causes these poor people to perish, who are good workers and willing, and who do not desire anything more than to remain in a country where they are free from burdensome taxation and from the rule of the master of their land—a lot quite different from that of the peasants in Germany.

"They would consider themselves very happy to get one or two negroes, according to the land they have, and we would soon find them to be good overseers. The only thing to be done would be to visit them once or twice a year, to see what use they are making of them, and to take the negroes away from the lazy ones and give them to the industrious. But this would hardly be necessary, as these people are by nature industrious and more contented than the French.

"They could also feed their negroes very well on account of the great quantities of vegetables they raise. They could also sell a great deal to the large planters, and these, assured of a regular supply, could give more attention to the raising of indigo, the cutting of timber, and to other things suitable for exportation to France and Cape Frances (San Domingo). I am persuaded that a great timber trade could be established with the West Indian Islands, where timber is getting scarcer and is dear."

#### LEFT BANK OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

##### *Continuation of the Census of 1724.*

The land immediately above New Orleans and on the same side of the Mississippi, beginning beyond the moat of the upper town limit (now foot of Bienville street), and extending up to the center of the great bend of the river at Southport, beyond Carrollton, belonged to M. Bienville—in all, 213½ arpents river front.

This is, no doubt, the land which the census enumerator, a French official, quoted above, had in view when he said, "If

these German farmers were in the neighborhood of New Orleans \* \* \* .” And when he speaks of “the greed of those who demanded large concessions,” he evidently referred also to Governor Bienville.

The lower portion of Bienville's land—from Bienville street to somewhere about Felicity road, 58½ arpents' front—Bienville reserved for his own habitation. Of this tract he sold a part to the Jesuit fathers. From Felicity road up to Southport he placed, as has been stated, twelve German and a few French families, most of whom received their titles on and after the first of January, 1723. But by the time the census of 1724 was taken, a number of these had left. The fact that the Germans had already once before lost their all by a great hurricane and inundation, and the failure of Bienville to build a levee, although he had guaranteed one to them in their titles, and the consequent inundations they were subjected to even in the first year, together with the exacting conditions of rental to be fulfilled—all these were causes to compel these people to sell out their contracts as quickly as they could. Some had already left during the first year, and Jacob Huber, the last German to remain on Bienville's land, stayed only from 1723 to 1727.

Partly from census reports, and partly from chains of titles of Bienville's hands, the author has been able to ascertain the names of most of the German storm victims who settled on Bienville's lands:

*Peter Bayer*, from Wankenloch, near Durlach, Baden, who had taken six arpents of Bienville's land above New Orleans.

*Caspar Hegli*, a Swiss, from near Lucerne. “Six arpents. Catholic; 35 years old. His wife. A daughter. Two orphan boys. A cow, a heifer, a young bull, and three pigs. Two years on the place. Used two and a half barrels of seed rice and did not make more than three barrels on account of inundation. Has a very fine garden enclosed by palisades. He has made a good levee and is a good worker. He deserves a negro.” (Census of 1724.)

*Jacob Huber*, with six arpents. “Native of Suevia, Germany. Catholic; 45 years old. His wife, son of 16 years. One *engagé*. One cow, one heifer, a pig. Made no crop on account of inundation. Good worker.” (Census of 1724.)



Jacob Huber's son Christoph married Marie Josephine St. Ives. Descendants write the name now "Oubre", "Ouvre", "Hoover".

*Andreas Krestmann*, or Christmann, from Augsburg, with his two sons, 10 and 12 years old. Six arpents. "Wheelwright. His wife. Two orphan girls, eight and fifteen years old. Two years on the place. A cow, a heifer, a calf and three pigs. He is industrious and is at work fencing in his cleared land. He made a good levee and paid in advance the workmen who made it for him at a cost of 100 pistoles. Deserves a negro."

These four men occupied a portion of Bienville's land from the present First street of New Orleans to Napoleon avenue. Further up, beginning about the upper line of Audubon Park, were:

*Simon Kuhn*, of Weissenburg, Ansbach, Bavaria. "His wife, daughter, son-in-law, Daniel Hopf, 20 years of age of Cassen, diocese of Spire. Orphan boy, 12 years old. Cow, calf, three pigs. One year on the land. Had to change his engagements twice, having been forced to give up his cabin on account of water. Good worker." (Census of 1724.) An elder daughter of Simon Kuhn, Anna Kuhn, was the widow of Johann Adam Zweig (Labranche), who had died in Biloxi. She had a daughter of the age of 12 years. The orphan boy, 12 years old, was, no doubt a relative, and very likely that Jean Labranche who, in 1737, married Susanna Marchand and became the progenitor of all the Labranche families in Louisiana. Daniel Hopf (French spelling "Yopf" and "Poff") married, in 1727, Anna Maria Werich, of Lampaitz, German Lorraine. A daughter of this second marriage, Renée "Poff", married, 1752, in Pointe Coupée, Pierre Baron.

*Thomas Lesch* (now "Leche" and "Laiche"), with three arpents. "His wife. One *engagé*." (Census of 1726.) Thomas Lesch married, in 1725, in the cathedral of New Orleans, Anna Schoderbecker of Wurtemberg. Only daughters were born from this marriage:

*Margarethe Lesch* married one Peter Engel, a carpenter, whose name occurs also in the spelling "Aingle", "Ingle", "Hingle", and "Engle". There were three sons, Simon, Sylvestre and Santjago Hingle, who married into the Bura family in Plaquemines parish (Bura's Settlement). The "Hingle" family is quite numerous there.

*Regina Lesch*, another daughter of Thomas Lesch, married one Christian Philippson.

Joseph Strantz, with three arpents.

One Mueller, with six arpents.

Johann Weber, the progenitor of the "Webre" families in Louisiana, with six arpents near the upper limits of Bienville's lands, now Carrollton. He was born near Fort Kehl, Baden, and was then 24 years old. (Census of 1724.) His wife was Marie Stadler, who came to Louisiana with her parents, Ulrich and Maria Stadler, on one of the four pest ships. "Mother-in-law, an orphan girl, aged 16 years. Cow, heifer, bull, four pigs. One year on the place."

The conditions under which these lands were given to the German storm victims by Bienville, were: From six to eight livres annual ground rent for each arpent and, every year, two capons and two days' work "in the form of *corvée*" for each arpent. Jacob Huber paid eight livres ground rent. Bienville subjected even the Jesuit fathers, who, on the first of May, 1728, bought five arpents from him, to conditions similar to these, including even that of *corvée*. This is true, also, of the Canadians who held lands from him on the Algiers side of the river.

The people of Bienville's lands must also repay the advances made to them by Bienville. These consisted usually of provisions for one year, a cow in calf, two hogs, four chickens with a cock, and the necessary utensils and agricultural implements. Utensils, provisions and implements must be paid for at the end of the first two years. The cow must be returned within three years, and of all the cattle raised in excess of the first twelve head Bienville was to receive one half. For the two hogs furnished he demanded a fat hog every second year, and for the four chickens and the cock six fat hens or capons were demanded every year.

In the census of 1726 these Germans were called "Vasseaux allemands." Indeed, they were "vassals." (See Volume "Concessions.")

In the Chapitoulas district above Carrollton began the great concessions of Deubreuil, Chauvin de Lèry, Chauvin de Beaulieu, Chauvin de la Frénière, St. Rayne, all large concerns worked by negro labor.

Continuing our trip up the river, on the left side, we find

in 1724 the habitations and concessions of Dartigniere & Benac, Henry Pellerin, Cousin, Vaquir, Dire (Dire leaved in Cannes Brûlées), d'Artagnan, Chautreau de Beaumont, Pujeau & Kavasse, Meran & Ferandou, Bouette, Chaval, Chesneau, Dauniy, and Pierre Brou.

The habitations of Chesneau and Dauny were later, after 1727, acquired by Caspas Dubs (Toups) and Ambros Heidel (Haydel), who, in 1724, were yet neighbors on the other side of the river on the German Coast.

Continuing our trip up the river, we find in 1724 the habitations of Pommier, Picollier, Sainton, Dizier, Dejean, and Pel-loin. Then we meet again Germans:

*Peter Schmidt*, from the Palatinate. Catholic; 34 years old. His wife, his brother-in-law, aged 17 years. Three arpents cleared, which he had bought for 400 livres.

*Bartholomæus Yens* (?), of Cologne. Catholic; 25 years old. A brewer. His wife, with a child at the breast. Three arpents cleared.

Then we pass the habitations of St. Pierre, St. Julien, Go-ber, Reux, Caution, Guichard, Piquéry, Petit de Livilliers, Ducros, Lantheaume. Then comes:

*Joseph Ritter*, of Durlach, Baden, 52 years old, a carpenter. His wife, a son of 20 years, two orphan girls of 14 and 19 years. About three years on the place. Three pigs. Works at his trade. "Is a good worker and deserves some negroes."

Then we come to the Baillifs, Claude Baillif from Picardy, and

*Joseph Bailliff*, of Dieux, in German Lorraine, aged 22 years. His wife. Eight arpents cleared, which he had bought for 250 livres. His widow married later Michael Zehringer, of whom we shall hear soon.

*Nik. Schmitz*, of Frankfurt. Catholic; 40 years of age. His wife. A daughter of 18 and one of six years. Eight arpents, which he had bought for 800 livres. "Made a good levee and is a good worker."

*Peter Bayer*. Catholic; 23 years old. His wife. Two arpents of land, which he had bought for 210 livres, having given up the land which he had from Governor Bienville. He brought all his things with him. Had not made more than two barrels of

rice and a quantity of girammons, which was all that was left to him after paying M. Bienville. "Is a very good worker and satisfied with his small piece of land for his fortune."

*Johann Fuchs*, of the canton of Berne, Switzerland. Catholic; 38 years old. His wife, with a daughter at her breast. Four arpents, for which he had paid 250 livres. About one year on the place. "On account of sickness and misery he made no crop."

*Lorenz Ritter, Jr.*, aged 20 years. Begins to establish himself on eight arpents.

From there up the left bank to where the census enumerator of 1724 stopped, there lived only Frenchmen and Canadians.

As the census of 1724, the first one to give the names of the German habitants, covers only the territory above New Orleans, and does not contain the names of the orphans staying with the German families, nor of the numerous *engagés*, many German people consequently remained unaccounted for. If the registers of the chapel on the German Coast, of which the census of 1724 speaks, and which had a resident priest as early as 1729, had not been lost, and if the records of the St. Louis Cathedral, in New Orleans, had not been to a great extent destroyed in the great fire of March 21st, 1788, many of these names could be recovered. As matters stand, only the cathedral records from 1720 to 1732 are available, which together with scattered court records and other official papers will be used here.

#### ADDITIONAL GERMAN NAMES OF THE PERIOD, NOT IN THE CENSUS.

There were:

MICHAEL ZEHRINGER, the progenitor of all the "Zeringue" families in Louisiana. He signed his name in German script "Michael Zehringer." He was from Franconia, Bavaria. His name appears first on the passenger list of the ship "Le Dromadaire" in 1720, together with sixty workmen under the command of de la Tour, the chief engineer of the colony. In 1721 Zehringer heads the list of "ouvriers" of the king as master carpenter. In 1722 we find Michael Zehringer in Biloxi, where in

tearing down a house he found, according to a procès verbal still existing, a number of articles which had been taken away from the old fort and hidden there. In the same year his wife, Ursula Spaet, died, and, six weeks later, his daughter Salome, aged 18 years.

In the next year he married Barbara Haertel, the widow first of Magnus Albert (who came over with her in one of the pest ships) and then of Joseph Bailliff. By her Zehringer had four sons: Michael, Pierre Laurent, Joseph, and Jean Louis.

The census of 1731 mentions Michael Zehringer as living below Chapitoulas, somewhere in the Sixth District of New Orleans. His family then consisted of his wife and three children. He had one *engagé*, twelve negroes, four negresses and twenty-seven cows. He died in 1738, and one of the witnesses in his succession was Louis Wiltz.

JOHANN LUDWIG WILTZ, the progenitor of the New Orleans branch of the Wiltz family, is not mentioned in the census. Johann Ludwig Wiltz, of Eisenach, Thuringia, Germany, was born in 1711. (He wrote his name "Wilsz" as does the family in Eisenach to the present day.) In a later official document referring to the disposition of some land belonging to him, it is stated that his father-in-law, Wm. Siriac, was living on it. Siriac (see census of 1724, No. 5) had but one daughter, who, at the taking of the census of 1731 no longer lived with her parents. So the marriage of Louis Wiltz may have occurred in 1731, when Wiltz was twenty years of age. At the taking of the census of 1724, he was only thirteen years old, and he was therefore almost certainly one of the orphans whose names are not mentioned in the census of 1724.

JOHANN KATZENBERGER, who, in 1722, while yet an *engage*, married Christine "de Vicoque" (from Wiesloch, near Heidelberg, Germany), lived in the village of Gentilly, one and a half miles from New Orleans. He was from Heidelberg. In Gentilly he had an *engagé* and eight arpents of land. The name of the family has been changed into "Gasbergue."

SIMON BERLINGER, of Blaubyern in Wurtemberg, was Katzenberger's neighbor in Gentilly. He had a wife and a son,

and owned eight arpents of land. His first wife was Cath. Rode, the widow of Jacob Herkomm, who had died "aux Allemands." In 1725 Berlinger married Elise Flick of Biel, Baden, whose first husband, Joseph Ziegler, had died in L'Orient. Berlinger later moved up to the German Coast.

JOHANN WEISS with his little son lived on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain. There were then only five families with fourteen persons living on the lake shore. One of them was called "Lacombe," and it may be that "Bayou Lacombe," between Bonfua and Mandeville, was named after that family. Descendants of this Joh. Weiss live in Pointe Coupée.

WEISSKRAEMER. Down near the mouth of the Mississippi, at a point called "Fort Balize," was the family of Weisskraemer, from Bavaria.

WICHNER. Then there were the progenitors of all the "Vicner," "Vicnair," and "Vickner" families. Nik. "Wichner" came in 1720 with his wife, Therese, and a child of one year on board the ship "L'Elephant," and was destined for the concession of Le Blanc, on the Yazoo River. His wife died some years afterward, and then he married Barbara Friedrich, the widow of Friedrich Merkel (see census of 1724, Nos. 2 and 50). The little child the Wichners brought from Germany seems to have survived, for the records of Pointe Coupée inform us that in 1777

"Gratien Vicner (Gratian probably stands for "Christian"), the son of Nik. Vicner and Theresa . . . married Marie Louise Cortez", and, in the same year, a child was born to them—Marie Louise.

Sons of Nik. Wichner and Barbara Friedrich married there, too, about this time:

1772: Antoine Vicner, son of Nik. Vicner and Barbara Friedrich, married Perinne Cuvellier, daughter of Pierre C. and Marie Arrayo", and

1777: "David Vicner, son of Nik. V. and Barb. Friedrich, married Marie Margarethe Cuvellier, a sister of Perinne". She died 1781 in St. John the Baptist.

On board the same vessel by which Nik. Wichner and his family came to Louisiana there was one

FRANCOIS WICHNER, his wife Charlotte and two children,

two and four years old. Charlotte Wichner died in New Orleans in 1727, and her husband died in Pointe Coupée in 1728 as "Habitant and entrepreneur."

Yet the name of this family does not appear in any census enumeration until 1731, when "Nik. Wichner, his wife and a child" are entered as habitants of Cannes Brûlées.

**RICHNER (Rixner).** From a petition addressed by the tutor of the children of de la Chaise to the Superior Council in 1730, we learn that one Rixner, a German, (signatures of the family prove that the original name was "Richner") had been manager of a plantation below New Orleans for three years. His time would expire in June, 1730, and a family meeting should have been called at that time to arrange for a continuance of the improvements on said plantation. In the census enumerations Johann Georg Richner appears for the first time in 1731. He lived then opposite New Orleans, two lieues above the town. There was then also a "Rixner fils," who was not yet married and who owned three negroes and three cows. Richner's daughter Margarethe married, in 1728, Jacob Kindler, a Swiss, and died the same year. Richner's wife was a sister of Ambros Heidel's mother. Johann Georg Richner came to Louisiana on board "La Saone," one of the four pest ships, in 1721. His name is not contained in the census of 1724.

**SCHAF (Chauve).** Then there was the family of Schaf, of Weissenburg. Jacob Schaf and his wife Marianne sailed with five children for Louisiana on the pest ship "La Garonne" on the 24th of January, 1721. From church records it appears that the wife of Ambros Heidel (Haydel), Anna Margarethe, was a daughter of Schaf. Ambros Heidel had also a brother-in-law with him. Another daughter of Schaf married one Claireaux, and later, as her second husband, Franz Anton Steiger, from the diocese of Constance, Baden, while Anton Schaf, the eldest son, became the son-in-law of Andreas Schenck in 1737. (see census of 1724, No. 35). Yet no census mentions the Schaf family.

**SHECKSCHNEIDER.** On the same ship and on the same day sailed from L'Orient the Sheckschneider family, Hans Reinhard Sheckschneider, his wife and two children. One son, Jacob,

was landed in Brest and died there. Nothing more is heard of the parents, and only after 1730 their second son, Albert "Segshneider," the progenitor of the numerous Scheckschneider families appears as a habitant. He, too, must have been one of the many nameless orphans whom the census of 1724 mentions in connection with the German families.

ZWEIG (Labranche). On the 24th of January, 1721, there sailed on the pest ship "Les Deux Frères" from L'Orient a second Zweig family, Jean Zweig, with his wife and two children, who came from the neighborhood of Bamberg, Bavaria, Germany. The parents probably died before the census of 1724 was taken; their daughter was married as early as 1724 to Joseph Verret, but nothing is heard of the second child of the Zweig family, a little son,<sup>36</sup> until he, in 1737, bought land at what is now called "Waggaman," on the right bank of the Mississippi, opposite the habitation of his brother-in-law, Verret, who lived in "La Providence," on the left bank. There young Zweig married Susanna Marchand, of St. Marcellin, Grenoble, France, but then an orphan in the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans. The marriage contract which the author found in official acts in the custody of the "Louisiana Historical Society" was signed on the 6th of November, 1737. In this marriage contract the officiating French notary changed the name "Zweig" into "Labranche." The name Zweig being difficult to pronounce and still more difficult to write, as it contains sounds for which the French language has no signs, and young Zweig not being able to sign his name (so the contract states), it was but natural for the French notary to inquire into the meaning of the word "Zweig." Hearing that it meant in French "la branche," he put "Labranche" down as the family name of the bridegroom, and this has remained the family name ever since. The Labranche family has preserved to the present day the tradition of its German descent and of the original name "Zweig."

Having also found the joint last will and testament of Jean Zweig and Susanna Marchand made on the 21st of October, 1780, as well as the papers of the Labranche-Marchand succes-

<sup>36</sup> See *Census of 1724*: "Simon Kuhn" on Bienville's lands.



sion, settled in 1785, the writer is able to give the correct list of the children of Jean Zweig and Susanna Marchand. As to the later descendants thanks are due to Chas. Theodore Soniat Dufossat, Esq., one of the many distinguished descendants of the Labranche family, whose mother, Marie Amenaide Labranche, was a granddaughter of Michael Labranche, the eldest son of Jean Zweig.

CHILDREN OF JEAN ZWIG (LABBRANCHE) AND SUSANNA MARCHAND.

1. *Michel Labranche*, who married Louise Fortier and left seven children. He died in 1787. Female descendants married into the Le Blanc, Porthier, Sarpy, Fortier, Soniat Dufossat, Augustin, Beugnot, Wogan, Dupré, Villeré, Larendon, de la Barre, Godberry, Second, Brown, Lesseps, Oxnard, Sanchez, Chastant, and Martin families.

2. *Alexander Labranche*, one of the signers of the constitution of 1812, married a Miss Piseros and left five children. His son, Octave, became Speaker of the Louisiana House of Representatives.

His son Alcée was also Speaker of the House of Representatives, Member of Congress, and United States Ambassador to the Republic of Texas.

Female descendants of Alexander Labranche married into the Tricou, de la Barre, Soniat, Dufossat, Chalard, Dupuy, Meteye, Dauphine, Michel, Sarpy, Heidel (Haydel), Fortier (a grandson of Edmund Fortier and *Félicité Labranche*, is Professor Alcée Fortier of the Tulane University of Louisiana), Ganuchau, Aimé, Piseros, Villeré, Augustin, Schreiber, Toby, Frédéric, Brou, Le Blanc, Grevenberg, Berault, Laland, Blois, Wood, Jumonville, Bouligny, Albert Baldwin, and Dr. Smythe families.

3. *Jean Labranche* died single.
4. *Susanna Labranche* married Joseph Wiltz in 1759, and died in 1777. She had two children; Joseph Louis Laurent Wiltz, with whom the New Orleans branch of the Wiltz family became extinct in the male line in 1815; and Hortense Wiltz, who married, in 1789, Juan Leonardo Arnould. Their son, Julien Arnould, married (1829) Manuela Amasilie Daunoy; their daughter, Jeanne Aimee Arnould, married François Trepagnier, and their second daughter, Louise Mathilde, married Jean de Dieu Garcia.
5. *Genevieve Labranche* married Alexander Bauré.
6. *Marie Louise Labranche* married François Trepagnier.

ADDITIONAL GERMAN NAMES OF THE PERIOD NOT IN THE  
CENSUS.

There were:

NIKOLAUS, CHRISTIAN and CONRAD KUGEL, three brothers,  
whose parents died in L'Orient;

LOUIS LEONHARD, who married, in 1728, the daughter of  
Stephan Kistenmacher;

PAUL ANTON MUELLER, of Halle, who married, in 1728,  
Françoise Bourdon;

JOHANN KRETZEN, whose wife was Elise Kerner;

BERNHARD RAUCH, who died in New Orleans, in 1728, aged  
fifty years;

LORENZ RAUCH;

JOHANN KECK, of Bamberg, who died in New Orleans in  
1725, aged sixty years;

JOHANN WECHERS, of Strassburg, whose parents died in  
Cannes Brûlées, and who was the husband of Magdalena Acker-  
mann;

RUDOLPH MARTIN, whose wife was Marg. Besel, of Neu-  
stadt;

JACOB STAHL;

JOHANN GEORG STAEHLE;

JOSEPH RICKER;

LORENZ GOETZ, of Dicklingen, diocese of Spire;

JOHANN STRICKER;

NIKOLAUS HUBERT;

ANDREAS TET, of Differdangen, Luxembourg, diocese of  
Treve (Trier). This family still exists on Bayou Lafourche.

JOSEPH RITTER;

TINKER, of Frankfurt;

DANIEL RAFFLAND, of Berne, Switzerland;

NIKOLAUS WEISS, of Wolkringen, Berne;

JOHANNES ETTLER, of Colmar, Alsace;

JOHANN ADAM SCHMIDT;

JOHANN ADAM KINDELER, or Kindler, a Swiss;

ANTON RINGEISEN;

ADAM TRISCHL, the progenitor of all the "Triche" families;

ANTON LESCH, the progenitor of all the "Leche" and "Laiche" families and probably a younger brother of Thomas Lesch.

DANIEL MIETSCH, of Wuerzburg; ..

GEORG ANTON MEMMINGER;

BALTHASAR CLAUSEN;

JACOB ECKEL, of Weilburg;

JOHANN NERLE;

GEORG RAPP;

JOHANN BAPT. MANZ, the progenitor of the "Montz" families.

All these names the author found in church records. Moreover, the census of 1724 does not contain the names of those still on Law's second plantation below English Turn. These names alone prove that the German population of Louisiana during that period was much larger than the census of 1724 would make it appear.

#### A CENSUS WITHOUT A DATE.

There is a census of inhabitants and their lands which is not dated. Several reasons invite the belief that this census was taken after 1732. As it gives the latest grouping, it may follow here. It will be noticed that all the Germans had left Bienville's lands, and had gone up to the German Coast on both sides of the Mississippi. In some instances the sons of the original inhabitants appear as landowners.

#### LEFT BANK.

Beginning at "La Providence" (opposite "Waggaman").

- |    |             |                                                       |
|----|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 14 | arpents.... | Joseph Verret, husband of M. Marg. Zweig (Labranche); |
| 6  | "           | ....Johann Weber;                                     |
| 8  | "           | ....Louis Dubs (Toups);                               |
| 8  | "           | ....Caspar Dubs (Toups);                              |
| 15 | "           | ....Ambros Heidel (Haydel);                           |
| 15 | "           | ....Pierre Brou;                                      |
| 6  | "           | ....Louis Champagne;                                  |
| 10 | "           | ....Jacques Antoine Le Borne.                         |

These people being neighbors, and their children growing up together, sons of Dubs (Toups), Brou, Champagne, and Le Borne married Heidel girls, daughters of Ambros Heidel (Haydel).

- 4 arpents.... Nikolaus Wichner (Vicner, Vicnaire, Vickner);  
8 " .... Daniel Hopf (Poff). Having married a second time, Hopf separated from his father-in-law Simon Kuhn, who crossed the river.

RIGHT BANK.

Beginning two miles above New Orleans, going up to the German Villages.

- 10 arpents.... Johann Georg Richner (Rixner);  
10 " .... Simon Kuhn;  
6 " .... Heinrich Christman;  
6 " .... Andreas Christman;  
12 " .... Jacob Christmann;  
12 " .... Vandereck;  
6 " .... Jacon Naegeli;  
4 " .... Philipp Zahn;  
6 " .... Jacob Foltz (Folse);  
5 " .... Andreas Hofmann;  
6 " .... Christian Grabert;  
5 " .... Caspar Hegli;  
8 " .... David Meunier;  
6 " .... Jacob Rabel;  
2 " .... Jacob Weisskraemer;  
8 " .... Johann Adam Edelman;  
9 " .... Georg Troxler (Trosclair);  
8 " .... Georg Raeser;  
6 " .... Jacob Huber (Oubre, Ouvre, Hoover);  
8 " .... Bernhard Anton;  
6 " .... Mathias Friedrich;  
6 " .... Joseph Wagensbach (Waguespack);  
6 " .... Andreas Struempff;  
2 " .... Peter Muench;

3	"	....Christoph Kaiser;
3	"	....Simon Berlinger;
1	"	....Adam Schmidt;
3	"	....Joseph Andrae;
6	"	....The Presbytery;
5	"	....Andreas Traeger (Tregre);
12	"	....D'Arensbourg;
8	"	....Nikolaus Meyer;
6	"	....Jacob Ritter;
8	"	....Adam Mattern;
6	"	....Leonhard Magdolf;
6	"	....Balthasar Marx;
8	"	....Andreas Schantz (Chance);
4	"	....Wilhelm Siriac;
4	"	....Albert Scheckschneider;
6	"	....Bernhard Wick;
6	"	....Conrad Friedrich;
6	"	....Johann Rommel;
4	"	....Rudolph Gillen, a Swiss, and the successor of Johann Weber on Bienville's lands;
4	"	....Johann Callander;
2	"	....Johann Georg Bock;
6	"	....Michael Vogel;
5	"	....Martin Lambert.

#### REINFORCEMENTS FOR THE GERMANS.

The Germans on the German Coast of Louisiana received reinforcements at different times.

In the first place the Swiss Soldiers, the majority of whom were Germans, and of whom there were always at least four companies in Louisiana during the French domination (until 1768) naturally drifted to the German Coast, and settled there at the expiration of their time of service. As stated before, the *Compagnie des Indes* aided them to establish themselves.

In 1754 a considerable number of people came from Lorraine, so official acts inform us, and "were settled on the German Coast." No list of names, however, is available. Governor Ker-

lerec wrote under date of July 4th, 1754 ("Notes and Documents," page 409):

"I have received the families from Lorraine by the 'Concord'. They are established 'aux Allemands' and work well. Many like these would be necessary for the advancement of the colony—families accustomed to working the soil, whose energies would redouble in a country where the revenues would belong to them without the burden of taxation."

In August, 1774, a large number of German families came from Frederic county, Maryland, which county had been a center of German immigration for many years. They travelled to Hagerstown, Maryland, thence through the wilderness to Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg), whence they came in boats down the Ohio and Mississippi to Manchac.

The Manchac of the Eighteenth Century was not the same locality which most of us know as the little railroad station "Manchac" on the Illinois Central Railway, 38 miles north of New Orleans. Old "Manchac" was a post on the Mississippi River, fourteen miles by river below Baton Rouge and on the same side of the Mississippi. There "Bayou Manchac," at one time called "Ascantia," and also "Iberville River," branched off from the Mississippi, and, connecting with the Amite River, Lake Maurepas and Lake Pontchartrain, formed an inland waterway from the Mississippi River to the Mississippi Sound.

It was because of this inland passage from the Mississippi to the lakes, to the gulf, and to Mobile, that Manchac was once spoken of as the proper site for the future capital of Louisiana; and when, in 1718, the present site of New Orleans was selected for that purpose, it was done principally for the reason that New Orleans, through the Bayou St. John, also has water communication with the Lake Pontchartrain and Mobile, and is much nearer to the gulf than Manchac.

*(To be Concluded.)*

## GERMANS IN TEXAS.

(Continued.)

By GILBERT G. BENJAMIN, PH. D.

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### WAGES.

In 1847 the average daily wages was fifty cents with board. Men servants received from \$10 to \$20 a month; women servants from \$5 to \$12 a month.<sup>110</sup> In the early fifties, in Texas, field workers received \$7 to \$10 a month and board; maid servants, \$4 to \$6 a month; cooks, \$5 to \$9; sheperds, \$7 to \$12 a month; tanners, \$1.50 to \$2 a day; masons, \$1.50 to \$2 per day; joiners, \$1.50 to \$2 a day; wagon makers, \$10 a week; carpenters, \$1.50 a day. When Olmsted was in Texas, the German farm laborers worked for \$150 a year and clothed and insured themselves. This brought them in competition with slave labor. Slaves at that time brought \$1,000. The German with that sum could hire six hands.<sup>111</sup> Journeymen were paid \$15 a month and upwards and found. Farm laborers, \$8 to \$15 a month and board. Women servants \$5 to \$8.<sup>112</sup> The Comal Cotton Manufacturing Company paid in 1868 fifty cents a day for experienced spinners, and \$2 a day for foremen.<sup>113</sup> In the New Braunfels woolen mill, in 1868, wages varied from forty cents to \$1.50 per day.<sup>114</sup>

Some of the German mechanics in the vicinity of New Braunfels made more money in one day, by going into the fields of the planters and picking side by side with the slaves, being paid by measure, than they could at their regular work in a week.<sup>115</sup> One woman in the first year she had ever seen a cotton field, picked more cotton in a day than any slave in the country.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Bracht, p. 98.

<sup>111</sup> Olmsted, p. 433.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>113</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1868, pp. 180-181.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>115</sup> Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, II, p. 263.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

CHARACTER AND METHOD OF LIFE. GERMANS AND AMERICANS  
COMPARED.

There is perhaps no district of the United States where the Germans have kept their racial characteristics to so great a degree as in the district lying west of the Colorado river. The counties in which the "Adelsverein" founded its first communities are as German to-day in method of life, in sentiment and in culture, as they were when they were first founded. "Fifty-seven years of American residence has left a very distinct foreign flavor."<sup>117</sup> There you will see the German drinking his beer in small gardens. There you will hear music as it is sung in the Fatherland. There you will hear the German as the common speech. You might imagine yourself in one of the little towns of Germany.

The relation between the German and the American population during the time previous to the Civil War is an interesting topic. To-day, of course, relations are friendly, and in the cities such as Galveston and Houston, the German has become merged with the American population. This has not always been so. The comparison of the mode of life of the German with the American does not always favor the latter. It must be remembered that among the German population, brought over by the "Adelsverein", many were cultured men. Their leaders were educated men. Schools were early established. German and English were both taught.<sup>118</sup>

The attitude of the Germans toward slavery and the competition between free and slave labor necessarily brought the two elements of the population into conflict. The fact that German cotton brought a higher price in the market would naturally cause the American to look askance at the foreigner. Probably in no part of our Southern States was slave and free labor brought into so great a contrast as in Texas. The population of the State was small. The State itself was new, and the German element was strong. In very few of our Southern States were there so many non-slave owners, and few had so many small proprietors.

<sup>117</sup> *The Passing Show*, San Antonio, Texas, February 23, 1907.

<sup>118</sup> As early as August, 1845, a school was established at New Braunfels.



That many of the Germans were cultivated, is proved by the statements of both German and American writers. We shall leave the details of the attitude of the Germans toward slavery and their influence on the culture of the State to future chapters.

Bracht, writing in 1848, states that the Germans in Texas hold as firmly to the customs and speech of the Fatherland as they do in Pennsylvania.<sup>119</sup> Roemer in 1849 gives a good description of New Braunfels. All streets crossed each other at right angles and met in a public square.<sup>120</sup> The city was laid out after a regular plan. The houses were built after different plans; some were log houses, some built of limestone, and some were frame houses.<sup>121</sup> Many of the young men of the town ate at a restaurant kept by a former cook of a South-German nobleman. At her table gathered some ten or twelve young men. Many of them were former lieutenants in the armies of the German princes; some were former German students, merchants and farmers. The cooking was partly after the German and partly after the American custom.<sup>122</sup> On Sunday, dancing was commonly indulged in in accordance with the custom of the German peasants.<sup>123</sup>

Kapp, who visited the German settlements in 1852, describes New Braunfels as a well regulated place of about 2,000 inhabitants with some 200 houses. The main streets met in a square—the market place. All the streets were wide and were covered with beautiful trees, behind which simple, but well situated houses stood in gardens.

"I thought I was for a moment in one of those South-German villages where the children play on the streets with only their smocks on; where the mothers, working in the shade of their dwellings, while away a part of the day; and where little life is seen, because the men have something to do either in the fields or in their homes. Everywhere I met German faces, German names, as well as German speech and customs; in the whole place there dwelled only a Scotchman and one American."<sup>124</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Bracht, p. 107.

<sup>120</sup> Roemer, p. 117ff.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>124</sup> Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, Pt. II, p. 283ff.

He met a number of former German officials, officers, students and adventurers, who seemed to find themselves occupied as farmers, business men, guides or surveyors. Their faces as well as their hands showed the deep furrows of hard toil.<sup>125</sup> Olmsted gives the following description of New Braunfels:

"The main street of the town, \* \* \* was very wide—three times as wide, in effect, as Broadway in New York. The houses, with which it was thickly lined on each side for a mile, were small, low cottages of no pretensions, yet generally looking neat and comfortable. Many were furnished with verandas and gardens, and the greater part were either stuccoed or painted. There were many workshops of small mechanics and small stores; \* \* \* and bare-headed women, and men in caps and short jackets, with pendent pipes, were seen everywhere at work."<sup>126</sup>

The *Southern Intelligencer* states that the streets are broad and well laid out, and the banks are lined with ornamental and shade trees. No swine are allowed to run at large.<sup>127</sup>

From the very beginning the German element became conspicuous for its industry. The *Civilian and Galveston Gazette*, in an article regarding the Germans who came to Texas during the thirties, states that many brought nothing with them; that all had become independent. Many had become worth from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

"They now raise every year twice as much as they consume—have fine herds of cattle, horses and hogs; are out of debt; have a most scrupulous regard to punctuality in their contracts, and give indications of fine prosperity."<sup>128</sup>

The *Southern Intelligencer* under date of June 3, 1857, in describing the City of New Braunfels, declares that the town population, which consists mainly of Germans, is perhaps the most quiet, peaceable and industrious community to be found in this or in any other state.<sup>129</sup> In describing the Germans, Olmsted says they were to be seen, men, women and children, busy at some

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Texas Journeys*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>127</sup> *Southern Intelligencer*, Austin, June 3, 1857.

<sup>128</sup> *Civilian and Galveston Gazette*, December 2, 1843.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, note 1, *supra*.

work.<sup>130</sup> He reports that in a conversation with an American farmer he learned that the Germans were not bad neighbors, but extremely useful and valuable ones; that their mechanics worked cheaply, steadily and excellently; that they had been very honest and trustworthy in their dealings; that they were every year improving about their houses and building new houses which were more comfortable than their old ones; that they worked their little pieces of land "first-rate".<sup>131</sup> The *Texas State Gazette* declares that wherever they have settled in any considerable number the country around them looks more thriving and flourishing than in most other portions.<sup>132</sup> The following taken from the same journal under date of September 6, 1858, shows the condition of the settlements founded by Castro:

"Twelve years ago Castroville was one of the most attractive hunting grounds of the fierce Lipan Indians. It derives its name from Mr. Castro, who obtained in or about 1842, a colonization contract from the Texan government, and is still living in the town with his family.

"The majority of the settlers are from the French and German borders of the Rhine, and seem to be hardy and hard-working fellows. They speak German among themselves. \* \* \*

"The town numbers 1000 inhabitants within the incorporated limits, independent of a large population in the close neighborhood. Three other settlements, Quihi, Vandenburg and Dhanis are settled west of Castroville, and are improving fast."<sup>133</sup>

It is said that the majority of the hand workers and retailers of Galveston in 1845 were Germans.<sup>134</sup> Siemering states that in the early eighties one-half of the property was in the hands of that race.<sup>135</sup> Olmsted says:

"The poor immigrants who were able to purchase farms have made the happiest progress, meeting a steady market for their production, and a continuous appreciation in the value of their improved lands. The mechanics and laborers, after the first distress, found more work awaiting them than their hands could perform, and have constantly advanced to become employers, offering their old wages to the newcomers of each successive emigration."<sup>136</sup>

<sup>130</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 140.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>132</sup> *State Gazette*, Austin, June 30, 1855.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, September 6, 1856.

<sup>134</sup> Roemer, p. 59.

<sup>135</sup> Siemering, Article in *Jahrbuch*, p. 36.

<sup>136</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 430ff.

The following is quoted from Olmsted, because it describes the character of this people so well:

"The first German settlers we saw, we knew at once. They lived in little log cabins and had inclosures of ten acres of land about them. The cabins were very simple and cheap habitations, but there were very many little conveniences about them and a care to secure comfort in small ways that was very agreeable to notice.<sup>137</sup> \* \* \*

"I never in my life, except, perhaps, in awakening from a dream, met with such a sudden and complete transfer of associations. Instead of loose boarded or hewn log walls, with crevices stuffed with rags or daubed with mortar, which we had been accustomed to see during the last month, on staving in a door where we have found any to open; instead, even, of four bare, cheerless sides of whitewashed plaster, which we have found twice or thrice in a more aristocratic American residence, we were—in short, we were in Germany.

"There was nothing wanting for one of those delightful little inns which the pedestrian who has tramped through the Rhineland will ever remember gratefully. A long room, extending across the whole front of the cottage, the walls pink, with stenciled panels and scroll ornaments in crimson, and with neatly framed and glazed pretty lithographic prints hanging on all sides; a long, thick, dark oak table with rounded ends, oak benches at its sides; chiseled oak chairs; a sofa, covered with cheap pink calico, with a small vine pattern, a stove in the corner, a little mahogany cupboard in another corner, with picture and glasses upon it; a smoky atmosphere; and, finally, four thick-bearded men from whom the smoke proceeds, who all bow and say 'Good morning', as we lift our hats in the doorway.

"The landlady enters; she does not readily understand us, and one of the smokers rises immediately to assist us. Dinner we shall have immediately, and she spreads the white cloth at an end of the table before she leaves the room, and in two minutes' time \* \* \*, we are asked to sit down. An excellent soup is set before us, and in succession there follow two courses of meat, neither of them pork and neither of them fried, two dishes of vegetables, salad, compôte of peaches, coffee with milk, wheat bread from the loaf, and beautiful and sweet butter—not only such butter as I have never tasted south of the Potomac before, but such as I have been told a thousand times it was impossible to make in the southern climate. What is the secret? I suppose it is extreme cleanliness, beginning far back of where cleanliness usually begins in the South, and careful and thorough working.

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<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

"We then spent an hour in conversation with the gentlemen who were in the room. They were all educated, cultivated well-bred, respectful, kind and affable men. All were natives of Germany and had been living several years in Texas. Some of them were travelers, their homes being in other German settlements; some of them had resided long at Braunfels.

"It was so very agreeable to meet such men again, and the account they gave of the Germans in Texas was so interesting and so gratifying that we were unwilling to immediately continue our journey. We went out to look at our horses; a man in cap and jacket was rubbing their legs—the first time they had received such attention in Texas, except from ourselves, or by special and costly arrangement with a negro. They were pushing their noses into racks filled with fine mesquit hay—the first they had had in Texas. They seemed to look at us imploringly. We ought to spend the night. But there is evidently no sleeping room for us in the little inn. They must be full. But then we could sleep with more comfort on the floor here, probably, than we had been accustomed to of late. We concluded to ask if they could accommodate us for the night. Yes, with pleasure—would we be pleased to look at the room they could afford us? Doubtless in the cock-loft. No, it was another little cottage in the rear. A little room had been provided, with blue walls again, and oak furniture; two beds, one of them would be for each of us—the first time we had been offered the luxury of sleeping alone in Texas; two large windows with curtains, and evergreen roses trained over them on the outside—not a pane of glass missing or broken—the first sleeping room we have had in Texas where this was the case; a bureau, on which were a complete set of the *Conversations Lexicon*; Kendall's *Santa Fé Expedition*; a statuette in porcelain; plants in pots; a brass study lamp; a large ewer and basin for washing, and a couple of towels of thick stuff, full a yard and a quarter long. O, yes, it will do admirably; we will spend the night. \* \* \*

"As I was returning to the inn about ten o'clock, I stopped for a few minutes at the gate of one of the little cottages to listen to some of the best singing I have heard for a long time, several parts being sustained by very sweet and well-trained voices. \* \* \*

"In the morning we found that our horses had been bedded for the first time in Texas.

"As we rode out of town it was delightful to meet again troops of children, with satchels and knapsacks of books and little kettles of dinner, all with ruddy, cheerful faces, the girls especially so, with hair braided neatly and without caps or bonnets, smiling and saluting us—'guten morgen'—as we met. Nothing was so pleasant in Texas before; hardly in the South."<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 143ff.

The same writer met several educated Germans during his travels in Western Texas. Here is his description of one of them:

"There is something extremely striking in the incongruities and bizarre contrasts of the backwoods life of these settlers. You are welcomed by a figure in blue flannel shirt and pendant beard, quoting Tacitus, having in one hand a long pipe, in the other a butcher's knife; Madonnas upon log walls; coffee in tin cups upon Dresden saucers; barrels for seats, to hear a Beethoven symphony on the grand piano; 'My wife made these pantaloons and my stockings grew in the field yonder.' A fowling-piece that cost \$300 and a saddle that cost \$5; a bookcase half filled with classics, half with sweet potatoes."<sup>130</sup> These educated men were "still able to sustain their intellectual life and retain their refined taste; and, more than all, with their antecedents to be seemingly content and happy, while under the necessity of supporting life in the most frugal manner by hard labor."<sup>130</sup>

At Sisterdale he met several cultivated men. This was the so-called Latin settlement of which an uncle of Kapp's was a member. "The gentlemen we met were two of these singular settlers; one of them, the schoolmaster, a Berlin student, the other a baron, over whose Texan 'domain' we were actually passing. He took us to his castle, which was near by. It was a new log house. The family occupied a lean-to in the rear, as the roof was not quite finished. \* \* \*

"A few minutes brought us to the judge's house, a double log cabin upon a romantic rocky bluff of the Guadalupe. He came out to receive us \* \* \*. He was partly bald, but seemed to have an imperturbable and happy good-nature that gave him eternal youth. A genial cultivation beamed from his face. He had been a man of marked attainments at home (an intimate associate with Humboldt and a friend of Goethe's Bettina), and kept up here a warm love for nature. His house was the very picture of good-nature, science and backwoods. Romances and philosophies were piled in heaps in a corner of the logs. A dozen guns and rifles and a Madonna in oil, after Murillo, filled a blank on the wall. Deer-skins covered the bed, clothes hung about upon antlers, snake-skins were stretched to dry upon the bedstead, barometer, whisky, powder-horn, and specimens of Saxony wool occupied the table.

"The dinner was Texan, of corn-bread and frijoles, with coffee served in tin cups, but the salt was Attic and the talk was worthy of golden goblets."<sup>141</sup>

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 430.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 429-430.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191-193. This last passage has reference to Ottomar von Behr, whose work we have referred to often.

Let us contrast with these descriptions those which the same author gives regarding the Anglo-American population of the State. He says that in his whole route through Eastern Texas he did not see one of the inhabitants look into a newspaper or a book, although he had spent days in houses where men were lounging about the fire without occupation.<sup>142</sup> Contrast the following description which he gives of a hotel in Austin, with the inn at New Braunfels. He says:

"We had reckoned upon getting some change of diet when we reached the capital of the State, and upon having good materials not utterly spoiled by carelessness, ignorance, or nastiness in cooking. We had reckoned without our host.

"We arrived in a norther and were shown, at the hotel to which we had been recommended, into an exceedingly dirty room in which two of us slept with another gentleman, who informed us that it was the best room in the house. The outside door opening upon the ground, had no latch, and during the night it was blown open by the norther, and, after we had made two ineffectual attempts to barricade it, was kept open until morning. Before daylight a boy came in and threw down an armful of wood by the fireplace. He appeared half an hour or two afterwards and made a fire. When the breakfast bell rung we all turned out in haste, though our boots were gone and there was no water. At this moment, as we were reluctantly pulling on our clothing, a negro woman burst into the room, leaving the door open, and laid a towel on the wash-table. \* \* \*

"When finally we got to breakfast and had offered us—but I will not mention the three articles—only the 'fry' had been changed for the worse before it was fried—we naturally began to talk of changing our quarters and trying another of the hotels. Then up spoke a dark, sad man at our side: 'You can't do better than stay here; I have tried both the others, and I came here yesterday because the one I was at was *too dirty!*' \* \* \* Never did we see any wholesome food on that table. It was a succession of burnt meat of swine and of bulls, decaying vegetables and sour and moldy farinaceous glues, all pervaded with rancid butter."<sup>143</sup>

The other inns at which he stopped on his journey through Eastern Texas were even worse than this.<sup>144</sup> He states that he met with wheat bread only twice out of the city of Austin. His experiences in the homes of the settlers were more disagreeable than those he met with in the inns.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60 and 103.

<sup>144</sup> Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, Vol. II, p. 10.

The windows of the houses were usually without panes. The rooms were open to the rafters, and the doors closed with difficulty. The usual meal consisted of pork, salt and fresh, cold corn-bread and boiled sweet potatoes. "There is always, too, the black decoction of the South called coffee, than which it is often difficult to imagine any beverage more revolting". He describes a house of a man who had emigrated to Texas from the North twenty years before as being more comfortless than nine-tenths of the stables at the North.<sup>145</sup> There was not a pane of glass in the house. Some of the windows were boarded over, some had wooden shutters and some were entirely open.

He states that he met several cultivated and educated men in Austin, and says that none of the legislative bodies he had seen commanded his respect for the simple, manly dignity of their members, and the trustworthiness for the duties that engaged them, more than the General Assembly of Texas. "There was honest eloquence displayed at every opportunity for its use, and business was carried on with great rapidity, but with complete parliamentary regularity, and all desirable gentlemanly decorum." <sup>146</sup>

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANS AND AMERICANS.

From the time that the Germans settled in great numbers in Texas, there were disagreements between them and the Anglo-American population. This was due to a great extent to slavery, and to the fact that the Germans did not mingle much with the American population. The fact that the Germans were settled together and at some distance from the Americans, tended to separate the two races. Solms-Braunfels' work may have had some influence in bring this about. Roemer states that the book's weak side lies in the prejudicial and unjust judgments regarding the Anglo-American population of Texas. Single mistakes become the vices of the whole population.<sup>147</sup> The *Houston Telegraph* states that Solms' book is hindering emigration to the United States.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, *Cotton Kingdom*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>146</sup> *Texas Journeys*, pp. 112-114.

<sup>147</sup> Roemer, p. 44.

<sup>148</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, March 30, 1848.



Solms declares that the Americans of Texas do not belong to the better class of their nation. The chief characteristic of the American is greed for gold. To this "Mammon" he sacrifices all: it is the basis of his whole existence. The home of his parents, souvenirs of friends, things, which to the German have value, are prostituted by the American, if he can cover them with money. The more business of this kind, the greater will be his reputation as a "smart man". If the immigrant has business with the Americans, he can be certain of his losing his last shirt. The American will seek to ensnare him by means of pretensions and promises. If the good natured, trusting German gives way to him, he will treat him more severely than a slave. The people who came to Texas in the earlier days were almost all criminals who had to flee from the United States. It is well known that the first offices and places of the Republic were in the hands of people of this character. In a word, the foreigner can be assured that the American advances against him by means of fraud, and will find his advantage in some way, of which the European has no presentiment. The American is bold and enterprising in carrying out his plans and speculation. No privation, no fatigue, no danger, will keep him from doing so. The prince says that a wild country such as Texas is naturally the abode of adventurers. He styles these "Loofers".<sup>149</sup> This work must have had an influence in maintaining in the German an idea that the Americans were a people to be avoided.

From an early period, slavery had an influence in causing a lack of harmony between these two different elements in the population. As early as 1849, the planters were jealous of European immigrants. It was felt that a struggle over the relations between the German and Anglo-American was imminent.<sup>150</sup> The Germans were naturally abolitionists and felt that slavery lessened their own value.<sup>151</sup> A large proportion of the immigrants remained apart in German communities.<sup>152</sup> Those in the

<sup>149</sup> Solms Braunsfels, *Texas, Ein Handbuch für Auswanderer nach Texas*. Frankfurt, a M., 1846, p. 36ff.

<sup>150</sup> Smith, Edward, M. D., *Account of a Journey through Northeastern Texas in 1849*, p. 89.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 431.

cities had little influence. In social and political relations the Germans did not occupy the position which their numbers entitled them to. In the period before the Civil War, they mingled little with the Americans, except for the necessary buying and selling. The Americans had the prestige of pre-occupation. Their rule over slaves and Mexicans made them more or less domineering in their attitude toward the new comers.<sup>153</sup> The manners and the ideals of the Texans and of the Germans were hopelessly divergent.<sup>154</sup> "They made little acquaintance, observing one another, partly with unfeigned curiosity, often tempered with mutual contempt."<sup>155</sup> A conversation reported by Olmsted gives an idea of the sentiment held by the American toward the German. The speaker said "the Dutch" he had seen in the North were very different from those in this country. There, they were industrious and minded their own business. Here, they did not appear to have any business. The master of the house, in which the conversation occurred, said that he refused them fire and water as outlaws whenever he had an opportunity.<sup>156</sup>

The *Southern Intelligencer* gives the following ironical comment on the pardoning of a Captain Barton, who flogged a discharged German soldier, named Head:

"Our friends should recollect that Barton was an army officer of Virginia and Head was only a poor devil of a 'German who had to work for his living,' and was therefore 'degraded to the level of the negro.' If so degraded, why not whip him? Is there not danger that he and his countrymen might make cotton at ten cents per pound and thereby defeat the notion of the Gonzales aristocrats who believed that the making of cotton by 'poor white folks' should be headed off."<sup>157</sup>

In reporting that several hundred Germans had arrived, the *State Gazette* hopes they will scatter.

"It is from a want of due regard to the circumstances that we witness so marked a want of sympathy between the German and American population."<sup>158</sup>

<sup>153</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 431.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>157</sup> *Southern Intelligencer*, Austin, June 8, 1859.

<sup>158</sup> *Texas State Gazette*, Austin, June 16, 1855.

A speech delivered in 1853, quoted by Busey in his work on Immigration, a work written in behalf of "Know-Nothingism", shows that the Germans had an antipathy to the rule of the Americans. The speech was given at New Braunfels by a Mr. Wipprecht, and in concluding his speech, he is quoted as having said:

"Now, let us manfully and firmly oppose the arrogant assumption and overbearing of these natives. Let us oppose their further extension of this slave-holding population in Western Texas, for we have cultivated and settled this country before the natives thought of doing so."<sup>100</sup>

In May, 1854, a convention of Germans was held at San Antonio, Texas. They drew up resolutions, some of which demanded that criminal and civil laws be enacted, so simple and intelligible that there should be no need of lawyers; the abolition of the grand jury; the abolition of capital punishment; the abolition of all temperance laws; that a man be taxed in accordance with his income, the greater the income, the greater the tax; that there should be no religious instruction in the schools and no teacher who is a preacher; the abolition of laws respecting Sunday or days of prayer; the abolition of the oath as a matter of religious sanction; that Congress should never be opened by prayer.<sup>101</sup> In commenting upon this platform, the "Texas Gazette" says:

"The German population in Texas, in the language of one of their number who is an honor to his native land, has been treated liberally and with more true benevolence than in any other State in the Union, and if in return, they are engaged in forming secret societies, in league with similar societies among the fanatics of the North, to undermine and uproot our institutions and laws, religion and its ministers, it is time the people of the State should know it."<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Busey, *Immigration*, p. 32. It is quoted from the *New Orleans Creole*.

<sup>101</sup> *Texas State Gazette*, June 22, 1854.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

(To be Continued.)

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

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### THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN COAST OF LOUISIANA

AND

### THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT.

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New Orleans, La.

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(Concluded.)

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Bayou Manchac was at the time of the arrival of these Germans from Maryland the boundary line between Spanish America and the English territory. It was an important waterway and trading route (especially for illicit trade with the English), and remained so until 1814, when the American General Jackson (Battle of New Orleans, January 8th, 1815) fearing that the English, by a flank movement through Lake Pontchartrain and Bayou Manchac, might enter the Mississippi and gain his rear, had the bayou filled in. "Post Manchac" was on the upper side or English bank of the bayou, while on the lower side there was a "Spanish Fort" to defend the entrance into the Mississippi and the passage out of it. The recollection that the filling in of this bayou was a war measure still lingers with the native

(Creole) population of the locality, but only dimly, for when the author asked one of those living near it when and why the bayou had been filled in, the man answered in all honesty that it was done during the "Confederate War" (1861 to 1865).

The exact locality of this historic spot where the filling in occurred can be easily found now. It is at the railroad station "Rhoades" of the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railway, eighty miles north of New Orleans and ten miles (railroad distance) below Baton Rouge. There is "Rhoades' Country Store" on the left or river side of the track, where, just at the station, a little ravine is seen which the railroad crosses. On the right side of the track the ravine is larger, and a little bridge leads over it. This ravine is old "Bayou Manchac." Trees have now grown up from the earth used in filling the bayou, so that the direction of the old waterway can be followed for some distance. Such historic spots as this ought to be marked by tablets to keep alive important traditions.

#### THE GERMANS FROM MARYLAND.

About this neighborhood the German families from Maryland settled. Judge Carrigan says in De Bow's "Review" (New Series, IV., 255 and 616): that they first took land below Hackett's Point, on the opposite side of the river, but that after several successive inundations they were compelled, in 1784, to abandon their improvements and seek refuge on the highlands (called, after them, "Dutch Highlands"):

"where their descendants yet remain, ranking among the most industrious, wealthy, and enterprising citizens of the parish."

There were many intermarriages between the Germans from Maryland and their descendants, and names of them were found by the writer in the church records of St. Gabriel, St. John the Baptist, St. James, Baton Rouge, and Plaquemine. Of these but two families will be mentioned, the two largest ones: "Kleinpeter" and "Ory."

JOHANN GEORG KLEINPETER WITH HIS WIFE GERTRUDE, FROM  
MARYLAND.

"Naturales de Alemania". The entry of the marriage of his daughter Eva, in 1777, informs us that the bride was born in Strassburg, Alsace, and so we may assume that the Kleinpeter family came originally from that city. The family tradition says that Kleinpeter came with six grown children to Louisiana. All were found. Gertrude Kleinpeter died in 1806, aged seventy years, and was buried in the church yard of St. Gabriel.

CHILDREN OF JOHANN GEORG KLEINPETER AND HIS WIFE  
GERTRUDE.<sup>87</sup>

1. *Johann Baptist Kleinpeter*. His wife was Catherine Sharp from Maryland.
  - A. Joseph Kleinpeter married in 1822 Caroline Theresa Dardenne.
    - a. Mathilde married in 1843 Thos. Cropper; Edwin Cropper married in 1869 Felicie Dupuy;
    - b. Josephine married in 1849 Alverini Marion-neaux;
    - c. Euphemie Henriette married in 1853 Amilcar Dupuy;
    - d. Paul Gervais married in 1863 Pamela Isabella Kleinpeter, daughter of Chas. K. and Lucinde Cropper;
  - B. Isabella Kleinpeter married in 1800 Henry Thomas, son of Henry Th. and Barbara Ory, all from Maryland.
2. *Joseph Kleinpeter*. He married (1796) Magdalena Sharp, daughter of Paul Sh. and Cath. Ory, all from Maryland.
  - A. Marie Rosie Kleinpeter married in 1834 Jean Michel Bouillon.
  - B. Elisabeth Floresca Kleinpeter, baptized in 1807.
3. *Georg Kleinpeter*. He was the husband of Marg. Judith (not legible).
  - A. Franz (François) married 1823 Adelaide Traeger (Tegre).
    - a. A. Cornelia married in 1855 William Stokes;
    - b. Francis Amelia married 1856 Thomas Byrne.
  - B. Julia married 1825 Jean Traeger (Tregre), son of Jean T. and Eva Ory.

<sup>87</sup> The numbers, letters and distance from the margin indicate the different generations.

- C. Jean married 1825 Marie Rose Bouillon.
  - a. Elvira married 1851 John Huguet;
  - b. Carolina married 1859 Sam. McConnell;
  - c. Josiah married 1865 Elene Elder.
- 4. *Catharine Kleinpeter*. She came with her husband, Emmerich Adam, from Maryland.
  - A. Cath. Adam, baptized 1775, married 1795 Jacob Mueller, from Maryland;
  - B. Eve Adam, bapt. 1777, married 1796 Johann Thomas, son of Henry Th. and Barbara Ory, from Maryland;
    - a. Georg Thomas, bapt. 1808.
  - C. Marie Adam married 1805 Georg Kraus, another Marylander's son;
  - D. Mathias Adam, bapt. 1782;
  - E. Michael Adam, bapt. 1788.
- 5. *Barbara Kleinpeter*. She was the wife of Jacob Schlatter, from Maryland.
  - A. Cath. Schlatter, baptized 1777;
  - B. Michael Schlatter married 1814 Marie Jeanne Dardenne, and, in 1820, Marie Pamela Hawkins.
    - a. Ernestine Schlatter married 1830 James Robertson;
    - b. Michael Schlatter married 1843 Lodiska Desobry.
- 6. *Eva Kleinpeter*, the "native of Strassburg", married 1777 Johann Rein ("Reine") "of America", which here stands for Maryland. Rein signed his name in German script, as did the Kleinpeters and the Ory family.

The name Kleinpeter appears in the records sometimes in the spelling "Cloinpetre" and "Clampetre." De Bow's "Review" says (Vol. XI., 616) that Johann Georg Kleinpeter was the first to grow successfully sugar cane on the highlands. In 1790 he erected the first cotton gin, and his son, Johann Baptist Kleinpeter, in 1832, erected the first steam sugar mill.

#### THE ORY FAMILY.

Another large German family from Maryland was that of NIKOLAUS ORY, whose wife was ANNA STRASSBACH. She died in 1789, aged 72 years. All their children were born in Frederick county, Maryland. One of their sons, serving as a witness to a marriage in St. John the Baptist parish, signed his name in German script "Mattheis Ory, Zeig" (Zeug=witness).

CHILDREN OF NIKOLAUS ORY AND ANNA STRASSBACH.

1. *Mathias Ory* (died 1820, aged 70 years). He married two months after the arrival of the Marylanders in Louisiana, on the 11th of October, 1774, Agnes Weber (she died 1841), daughter of Jean Weber and Weber and Cath. Traeger (Tregre), and left eleven children:
  - A. Antoine Ory;
  - B. Pierre Ory;
  - C. Jean Louis Ory;
  - D. Jean Eugene Ory;
  - E. Elie Ory;
  - F. Francois Ory;
  - G. Jean Baptiste Ory;
  - H. Joseph Ory;
  - I. Marie Rose Ory, who married 1798 Georg Kamper (Cambre);
  - K. Magdalena Ory, who married 1819 Pierre Himmel (Hymel);
  - L. Cath. Ory, who married 1813 Jean Bapt. Baudry.
2. *Johann Ory*, married 1781 Eva Hofmann, daughter of Jacob H. and Sophie Jacob. By this his first wife he had eight children:
  - A. Cath. Ory marry 1811 Francois Tircuit;
  - B. Magdalena Ory married 1818 Denis Remondet;
  - C. Louis Ory married 1814 Marie Picou;
  - D. Marie Ory married 1814 Pierre Richard;
  - E. Nik. Ory married 1821 A. Delphine Bourg;
    - a. Adele Ory married 1844 Pierre Savoy;
    - b. Eugenie Ory married 1844 Paul Materne;
  - F. Marianne Ory, baptized 1788;
  - G. Pierre Ory, baptized 1788;
  - H. Jean Baptist Ory married 1808 Magdalena Weber.  
In 1797 the same Johann Ory married Barbe Tircuit, from Canada, by whom he had five children more:
    - I. Juan Alexis Ory, born 1800;
    - K. Felicie Ory, born 1802;
    - L. Emerente Ory, born 1805, married 1827 Eugene Matern;
    - M. Francois Ory, born 1812, married 1827 M. Celestine Leche, daughter of Jean L. and Scholastica Keller;
    - N. Barbara Ory, born 1797, married 1815 Jean Louis Deslattes.
3. *Louis Ory*. He married in 1791 Margarethe Wichner (Vicner), daughter of Adam W. and Anna Maria Traeger (Tregre). He died in 1800.



- A. Nikolaus Ory married in 1817 Ursula Charleville;
  - B. Michael Ory, baptized in 1797;
  - C. Louis Ory married 1816 Genevieve Schaf (Chaufte);
  - D. Jean Baptiste Ory, baptized 1793;
  - E. Marguerite Ory who married Geo. Traeger (Tregre).
4. *Barbara Ory*, the wife of Henry Thomas, from Maryland.
    - A. Henry Thomas, baptized 1774, married 1800 Isabella Kleinpeter, daughter of Johann K. and Cath. Sharp.
  5. *Magdalena Ory*, the wife of Philipp Jacob Engelhardt, from Maryland. This name appears in official documents in the spelling "Hingle Hart" and "Inglehart".
  6. *Christine Ory*, the wife of Nikolaus Mannhofer, from Maryland.
    - A. Marie Mannhofer married in 1778 Lorenz Fellmann, son of Jos. F. and Anna Wiedemann. The Fellmann family still exists on Bayou Lafourche, but the name is now changed into "Faltelman", though the progenitor of the family signed his name "Lorenz Fellmann".
  7. *Christian Michel Ory*. Nothing is known of him but his name. His daughter Elise married 1788 one Juan Georg.
  8. *Catharine Ory*, the wife of Paul Sharp, from Maryland.
    - A. Magdalena Sharp married in 1796 Joseph Kleinpeter, son of Johann Georg Kleinpeter and his wife Gertrude.
    - B. Catharine Sharp married in 1781 Juan Petit Pier.

#### THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT.

The descendants of the founders of the German Coast and the descendants of all other Germans who came to Louisiana before the year 1803 are the "Creoles of German Descent."

Opinions as to the meaning of the word "Creole"<sup>38</sup> differ in Louisiana. All seem to agree that the first Louisiana Creole was born in Mobile in 1704—the child of a French father, nationality of the mother unknown. According to the census of November, 1707, the whole white population of Louisiana at that time consisted exclusively of people from France and French Canadians.

In 1719 the Germans began to arrive in Louisiana, and in-

<sup>38</sup> "The word Creole is supposed to be a negro corruption of the Spanish *criadillo*, diminutive of *criado*, a servant, follower, client; literally one bred, brought up." (*Century Dictionary*.) In the Spanish West Indies the Europeans (Spaniards) ranked first, those born in the colony second.

ternational marriages resulted. Now what was the status of the children born in Louisiana of German parents and of those children born from international marriages?

Captain Bossu, a French officer, who, about 1750, lived in Louisiana for several years, gives the following definition:

"We call Creoles the children born from a French father and a French or European mother."

Bossu thus insists upon the French nationality of the father, but the mother may be either of French or of other European nationality, including the German. This distinction excluded the children born in Louisiana of German parents and those children of international marriages where the father was not a Frenchman.

But international marriages and the marriages of international children back into pure French families soon became so numerous that the French nationality of the father, demanded by Bossu, could no longer be insisted upon, and hence the children of the Germans had to be admitted into full membership among the Creoles.

Incontestible testimony for this interpretation is furnished by the Chevalier Guy Soniat Dufossat, a French nobleman, a marine officer, who came to Louisiana in 1751 and became the founder of the Soniat Dufossat family in Louisiana. His testimony, being that of a man who resided permanently in Louisiana, is undoubtedly more reliable than that of Bossu, who was but a transient observer.

Chevalier Soniat Dufossat says in his "Synopsis of the History of Louisiana," page 29:

"Creoles are defined to be the children of Europeans born in the colony."

This includes the children born of German parents in Louisiana.

In 1765 and 1766 the Acadians came into the colony. They were descendants of Frenchmen who had emigrated to Canada. As Canada was a French colony, the Acadians were Creoles long before the first Louisiana Creole was born in Mobile. Being

very ignorant and simple, however, although good people, the Acadians were not called Creoles in Louisiana, and not considered their equals by the Louisiana Creoles; for the Louisiana Creoles, at least in part, were descendants of officials of the king and of the *Compagnie des Indes*, and of officers, some of whom were members of noble families, whose family records date back to the time of the crusades. In their circles, as elegant education and as fine manners were to be found as in Paris.

Although the Acadians furnished Louisiana a number of excellent men, such as Governor Mouton, Chief Justice Poché, and others, and although there are family connections between them and the other Creoles, still the majority of the Acadians form a more or less separate caste, and are called to the present day "Cajuns."

In 1769 the Spaniards came. Between them and the Louisiana Creoles there was in the beginning the bitterest hatred. Later, however, came an era of reconciliation, during which the Spaniards, especially a considerable number of Spanish officers, married into Creole families. This disarmed the hatred, and the descendants of the Spaniards are now also considered Creoles.

With the year 1803, however, with the sale of Louisiana to the United States, the admission of new elements of the population into the Creole class ceased. Louisiana was now no longer a colony, and the large immigration setting in at that time from the United States into Louisiana did not come from Europe. The descendants of the Americans are therefore not called Creoles.

Yet the Americans continued to use the word "Creole" for commercial purposes, and to apply it to everything coming from Louisiana, negroes, animals, and goods of all kinds. "Creole negroes" are negroes born in Louisiana; and we hear likewise of "Creole chickens," "Creole eggs," "Creole ponies," "Creole cows," "Creole butter," and so forth. As a trade mark "Creole" signifies the home-raised or home-made, the better and fresher goods in contrast to those imported from the West, from the North, or from Europe.

After what has been said, we may now proceed to define the word "Creole:"

*Creoles are the descendants of the white people who emigrated from Europe to Louisiana during the colonial period, i. e., before 1803; and are properly only those born within the limits of the original territory of Louisiana.*

Great stress is to be laid on the word "white," as there are many persons, especially in other parts of the United States, who, from lack of better information, suspect the Louisiana Creoles of having in their veins a tincture of African or of Indian blood, possibly both, along with the Caucasian. Such a suspicion may be justified as regards the Spanish Creoles of the West Indies, Central America, Mexico, and South America, for the Spanish colonists there did not always preserve the purity of their race.

But Louisiana was a *French* colony, where, as early as 1724, the celebrated "Black Code" was promulgated, which regulated the relations between the whites and the blacks, forbade marriages between them, and imposed heavy fines for violations. Even sexual intercourse outside of marriage was forbidden; and when a negress, a slave, had a child by her white master, the master had to pay a fine of 300 livres, and the negress with her child became the property of the hospital of New Orleans. In addition to the legal punishment, such connections were always followed by social ostracism and the refusal of the family to recognize the issue of such marriages and illicit relations; and to the present day every Creole family will absolutely refuse to receive any person on terms of equality whose family at any time, no matter how remote, was tainted by the blood of the black race. It is true that there are many colored people in Louisiana who bear names of Creole families, but this can, in many instances, be explained by the fact that slaves voluntarily freed by their owners, often adopted the family names of their former masters.

The definition of the word "Creole" given above is further supported by what Gayarré says:

"Creoles we call the children of European parents in Spanish or French colonies."

That some of the Creoles of the present generation are not satisfied with the author's definition was shown in 1886, when

an attempt was made to found a "Creole Association" in New Orleans, upon which occasion it became necessary to define the word "Creole."

Henry Rightor in his "Standard History of New Orleans," page 195, says that he found in the papers of this association, which has since been dissolved, two definitions which undoubtedly represent the views of the founders of the "Creole Association." The first one is:

"The Louisiana Creole is one who is a descendant of the original settlers in Louisiana under the French and Spanish governments, or, generally, one born in Louisiana of European parents, and whose mother-tongue is French."

As this definition, however, would have excluded the descendants of the Spanish colonists, who preserved their mother-tongue, a second attempt at a definition seems to have been made:

"A native descendant of European parents speaking French or Spanish."

It is, therefore, intended now to make the preservation of the mother-tongue the test, and the vice-president of the "Creole Association" made this clear when he, in the absence of the president, Chief Justice Poché, said in his inauguration speech:

"Let no man, repudiating the tongue in which his first prayers were lisped, join us."

If this view, to determine one's descent by the adherence to the mother-tongue, were correct, nothing could be said against calling now, as some partisans really do, all Creoles "French Creoles," for all Creoles speak French now. But then the question would necessarily occur:

What, then, if the descendants of the present Creoles in fifty, or one hundred years from now should no longer speak French, but English? Will there then be no more Creoles?

It stands to reason that one's mother-tongue cannot decide the question of one's descent. The mother-tongue never decides in matters of descent. In a succession case no judge would ever think of basing his decision upon the mother-tongue of the claim-

ants, and of the many millions of people who immigrated from Europe to the United States no descendant ever forfeited his right of inheritance on account of his having adopted English in place of the mother-tongue of his family.

In matters of descent not the language but the *blood* is the vital matter, and the blood alone. We must therefore classify the Louisiana Creoles according to the blood of their progenitors, and say:

There are

Creoles of French descent,

Creoles of German descent,

Creoles of Spanish descent,

and still others, for instance Creoles of Irish descent (the McCarty family) and Creoles of Scotch descent (the Pollock family).

#### WHAT IS THE PROBABLE NUMBER OF THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT?

This question may be answered in the words of the promise, given to Abraham: they are as numerous "as the sands on the sea shore."

The church registers of St. John the Baptist prove that the German pioneers were blessed with enormously large families. It seems that heaven wanted to compensate them in this manner for the many dear ones they had lost in the ports of France, on the high seas, in Biloxi, and during the first period of their settling in Louisiana. I found fourteen of them, sixteen, eighteen, and once even twenty-two children in a family.

Yet, in spite of this great number of children there was no difficulty in providing for the numerous daughters. There was a great scarcity of women in Louisiana in early times. Indeed, as we have seen, prostitutes were gathered in Paris and sent to Louisiana to provide wives for the colonists. Few of these lewd women ever had any children, and their families became extinct in the second and third generation. See census of 1721 where it is stated that fourteen soldiers were married but that there was not a single child in these fourteen families.

According to this census—when the Germans on the German Coast and those on the Arkansas River were not enumerated—there were only thirty women with 21 children for every hundred white men in the district of New Orleans. No wonder that the young Frenchmen, especially those of the better class, chose wives from among the German maidens, who were not only morally and physically sound and strong, but had also been reared by their German mothers to be good house-wives.

Of the Heidel (Haydel) family, whose descendants are so numerous that one of them told the writer: "My family alone can populate a whole parish (county) in Louisiana," female descendants of the first five generations married into seventy-four different French families, and it very seldom happened that there was but one marriage between two families. Remember that in these statistics are still wanting the entries of the many registers that were burned at the "Red Church" and those of the volumes burned with the cathedral of New Orleans in 1788.

Yes, even into the most exclusive circles, into the families of the officials and of the richest merchants the German girls married, they became the wives of French and Spanish officers of ancient nobility in whose descendants German blood still flows.

Only one example: female descendants of Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg married into the families of de la Chaise, de la Tour, de la Grue, de Villeré, de L'Home, de Vaugine, d'Olhond, Laland d'Apremont, de Bosclair, de Livaudais, de Blanc, de la Barre, de Léry, de la Vergne, de Buys, Forstall, Trudeau, Perret, St. Martin, Montegut, Lanaux, Beauregard, Bouligny, Suzeneau, le Breton, Tricou, Duverjé, Urquhart, de Reggio, Rathbone, Durel, Luminais, Bermudez.

When General O'Reilly, in the year 1769, forced the Spanish yoke upon Louisiana, he selected six of the most prominent citizens, whom he had shot in order to intimidate the hostile population. Of these six "martyrs of Louisiana," were not fewer than three who had wives from German families:

JOSEPH MILHET, the richest merchant of the colony, had as his wife Margarethe Wiltz, whose father was from Eisenach, in Thuringia, while her mother was born in Frankenthal, Saxony;

MARQUIS, the commander-in-chief of the insurgents, was married to a daughter of an Alsatian officer, Gregor Volant, from Landsee, near Strassburg, and

JOSEPH DE VILLERE, under whose command the Germans of the German Coast had marched against the Spanish in 1768, had a grandchild of Karl Friedrich D'Arensborg as his wife.

#### THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AMONG THE CREOLES OF LOUISIANA.

As a rule, the German girls took German husbands, and whole families married into one another. To give but one example, it may be mentioned here that out of the ten children of one Jacob Troxler not fewer than eight married into the Heidel (Haydel) family. In such families the German language survived longest, and old Creoles of German descent have told me that their grandparents still understood and were able to speak the German language, although they were not able to read and write it, as there were never any German teachers on the German coast. I myself found among the old records a building contract of 1763 written in German, in which one Andreas Bluemler, a carpenter, obligated himself to build "for 2000 livres and a cow, a heifer and a black calf," a house for Simon Traeger (Tregre). A law-suit followed and so this building contract, together with the court records of the case were preserved to the present day.

In consequence, however, of the many family ties between the Germans and the French, and in consequence of the custom of the Creoles to marry into related families, French gradually became the family language even in those German families which had preserved the German language during three generations.

Some few German words, however, can occasionally be heard even yet in the Creole families of German descent, especially words relating to favorite dishes, "which our grandmother was still able to cook, but which are no longer known in our families."

German names of persons, too, have been preserved, although in such a mutilated form that they can hardly be recognized. Thus the tradition in the Heidel (Haydel) family is that



the first Heidel born in Louisiana was called "Anscopp," with the French nasal pronunciation of the first syllable. I could not get the original German for "Anscopp" until I compiled the genealogy of the family when I found that the first Heidel born in Louisiana was christened "Jean Jacques." Now I knew that they called him in the family "Hans Jacob," and that by throwing out the initial "h" and contracting "Hans Jacob" the name was changed into "Anscopp." In a similar manner "Hans Peter" was changed into "Ampete" and "Hans Adam" in to "Ansdam."

The German language disappeared quickest in families where a German had married a French girl. There no German was spoken at all, and even the Christian names customary in German families disappeared even as early as in the second generation, as now also the French wife and her relatives had to be considered in the giving of names to the children. Instead of Hans Peter, Hans Jacob, Michl, Andre, and Matthis, the boys of the German farmers were now called: Sylvain, Honoré, Achille, Anatole, Valcourt, Lezin, Ursin, Marcel, Symphorion, Homer, Ovide, Onésiphore, and Onesime; and instead of the good old German names Anna Marie, Marianne, Barbara, Katharine, Veronika, and Ursula, the German girls were called: Hortense, Corinne, Elodie, Euphémie, Félicité, Melicerte, Désiré, Pélagie, Constance, Pamela; and after the French revolution each family had her "Marie Antoinette."

#### THE FATE OF THE GERMAN FAMILY NAMES AMONG THE CREOLES.

The changes which the German family names underwent among the Creoles are most regrettable. Without exception, all names of the first German colonists of Louisiana were changed, and most of the Creoles of German descent at the present time no longer know how the names of their German ancestors looked. Sometimes they were changed beyond recognition, and only by tracing some thirty families with all their branches through all the church records still available; by going through eighty boxes of official documents in the keeping of the "Louisiana Historical Society;" by ransacking the archives of the city of New Orleans

and of a number of country parishes, and by compiling the genealogies of these families has the author been able to recognize the German people of the different generations, to ascertain their original names, and to connect the old German settlers with the generation of the Creoles of German descent now living.

Various circumstances contributed to the changing of these names. The principal one was, no doubt, the fact that some of the old German colonists were not able to write their names. Their youth had fallen into the period of the first fifty years after the "Thirty Years' War" and into the last years of the war when the armies of Louis XIV of France devastated the Palatinate. In consequence of the general destruction and the widespread misery of that period, schools could hardly exist in their homes. It was therefore not the fault of these people if they could not read and write their names. Moreover, as the parents could not tell their children in Louisiana how to write their names, these children had to accept what French and Spanish teachers and priests told them, and what they found in official documents. But French and Spanish officials and priests heard the German names through French and Spanish ears, and wrote them down as they thought these sounds should be written in French or Spanish. Moreover, Spanish and French officials and priests at that early time were not great experts in the grammar of their own language.

Finally, the early German colonists did not pronounce their own names correctly, but according to their home dialect.

To prove the last assertion three German names shall be considered: "*Schaf*," "*Schoen*," "*Manz*." In South Germany, where most of these people came from, "a" is pronounced broad, and almost approaches the "o." The South German peasant does not say "meine Schafe," but "mei' Schof." No wonder that the French officials spelled the name "Schaf" "Chauffe." In this form the name still exists in Louisiana.

"Schoen" was evidently pronounced like German "Schehn," for which reason the French spelled it "Chesne," "Chaigne," and "Chin."

And the name "Manz" for the same reason was changed into "Montz."

Many changes in the spelling of the German names follow the general "Law of the mutation of Consonants," called Grimm's Law, which may be roughly stated thus: "Consonants uttered by the same organ of speech are frequently interchanged."

*Lip sounds:* b, p, v, f, ph, (English) gh (as in the word "enough");

*Tongue sounds:* d, t, s, z, sch, (French) ch, che, c, and x;

*Throat sounds:* g, k, ch, hard c, qu, (French) gu, (Spanish) j and x.

Original German  
form of name:

Weber.....changed into Veber, Vebre, Vever, Bevre,  
Febre, Webere, Febore, Vabure, Weibre,  
Weyber, Febore and now "Webre".

Kremser.....Chremser.

Kamper.....Kammer, Campert, Camper, Campfer, Cam-  
bra (Spanish) and now "Cambre".

Krebs.....Creps.

Kindler.....Kindeler, Quindler, Quinler.

Kerner.....Cairne, Kerne, Querne, Kerna, Carnel, Quer-  
nel.

Kindermann.....Quinderman, Quindreman.

Clemens.....Clement.

Buerckel.....Pircl, Percle, Bercl, Birquell, Pircli,  
Lerkle and Percler.

One Marianne Buerckel married one  
"Don Santiago Villenol". As the bride-  
groom's own signature proves, the man's  
name was not "Santiago Villenol" but  
"Jacob Wilhelm Nolte".

Buchwalter.....Bucvalter, Bouchevaldre, Boucvaltre.

Willig.....Willique, Villique, Vilic, Villig, Billic, Velyk.

Katzenberger.....Katzebergue, Kastzeberg, Cazverg, Casverg,  
Casberg, Cazimbert, Kalsberke, Casver-  
gue, Castleberg, Katsberk, Cazenbergue  
and now "Casbergue".

Wichner.....Wichnaire, Vicner, Vicnaire, Vickner, Vign-  
nel, Vichneair, Vighner, Vequenel, Vign-  
ner, Vigner, Vuquiner, Bicner, Vixner,  
Wicner, Wickner.

In an entry in the marriage register of  
1791, which four members of this family  
signed, the name Wichner is spelled dif-  
ferently five times, as the officiating  
priest, too, had his own way of spelling  
it.

Wagensbach.....	Vagensbach, Wagenspack, Wagenpack, Vaglespaque, Vaverspaqhez, Waiwaipack, Wabespach, Bangepach, Varesbach, Vabach, Wabespach, Woiguespack, Woiwoiguespack, Vacheba, Vacquensbac, Weghisbogh and now "Waguespack".
Trischl.....	Tris, Trisch and now "Triche".
Traeger.....	Draeger, Tregle, Graeber, Trecke, Traigle, Treigle, Treguer, Draigue, Dreiker, Draeguer, and now "Tregre".
Ettler.....	Etlair, Edeler, Edler, Ideler, Heidler, Idelet, Edtl. Johannes Ettler used to add to his signature "from Colmar". From this came "dit Colmar", "alias Colmar", and when his daughter Agnes Ettler died, she was entered into the death register of St. John the Baptist "Ines Colmar".
Foltz.....	Foltse, Paulse, Folst, Folet, Folch, Folsh, Foltz, Fols and now "Folse".
Manz.....	Mans, Mons, Monces, Months, Munts and now "Montz".
Wilsz.....	Wils, Vils, Willst, Vills, Vylzt, Vylts, Wuells, Bilce, Veilts, The Wilsz family in Eisenach, Thuringia, Germany, writes the name with "sz", and so did Ludwig Wilsz, the progenitor of the New Orleans branch of the family, but his brother in Mobile adopted "tz" as did all descendants of both branches, including Governor Wiltz of Louisiana.
Lesch.....	Leche, Laiche, Lesc, Leichet, Lecheux and now "Leche" and "Laiche".
Zehringer.....	Seringuer, Sering, Seringue, Zerineck, Zerineque, Ceringue and now "Zeringue".
Huber.....	Houbre, Houbre, Houver, Ubre, Ouvere, Ouvre, Houvre, Hoover, Vbre and Vbaire. In "Vbre" and "Vbaire" the "V" stands for "U".

Initial "h" is pronounced neither in French nor in Spanish. For this reason initial "h" in German names was usually dropped, and where an attempt was made to represent it, the French often used "k," while the Spaniards represented it by "x" or "j," and occasionally by "qu."

Heidel changed into..Aydel, Jaidel, Keidel. Appears also as Hedelle, Idel, Etdell and is now "Haydel".

Richner.....Rixner, Risner, Resquiner, Ristener.

Himmel.....	Immel, Ymelle, Ximel, Quimel and now "Hymel".
Wichner.....	Vixner.
Helfer.....	Elfer, Elfre, Elfert.
Hufnagel.....	Oufnague, Houfnack.
Hauser.....	Hoser, Oser.

When a German name began with a vowel they often prefixed an "h":

Engel.....	Engle, Aingle, Ingle, Yngle, Hingel, Hincle, Hengel, Heigne and now "Hingle".
Engelhardt.....	Hingle Hart, Hanglehart, Inglehart.
Edelmeier.....	Heldemaire, Aidelmer, Eldemere, Delmaire, Le Maire.

In Spanish the letter "i" occurs sometimes when we expect an "r," for instance "Catalina" for "Catherina." So the Spanish use "i" also in family names instead of "r":

Quernel instead of Kerner,  
Beltram for Bertram,  
Viquinel and Vignel for Vicner (Wichner),  
Tregle for Traeger (Tregre).

By replacing German "sch" by "ch," as was the custom during the French period, the German names assumed an entirely foreign appearance, as no German word ever begins with "ch":

Schantz.....	Chance and Chans;
Strantz.....	Schrantz, Chrence;
Schwab.....	Chave and Chuabe, Chuave;
Schaf.....	Chauff, Cuave, Cheauf, Chof, Chofe, Choff, Chaaf, Soff, Shoff, Skoff, Shaw, Chaaf and now "Chauffe";
Schaefer.....	Chefer, Cheffre, Chevre, Chepher, Cheper, Scheve.
Schmidt.....	Chemitt and Chmid;
Schuetz.....	Chutz.

The German "o" became "au" and "eau":

Vogel.....	Fogle, Feaule, Voguel, and Fauquel.
Hofmann.....	Ofman, Aufman, and Eaufman.

Also the inclination of the French to put the stress upon the last syllable appears in German names:

Himmel.....	Ymelle;
Heidel.....	Aydelle, Hedelle, Haydelle, Etdelle.
Rommel.....	Rommelle. Appears also in the forms Rommle, Romle, Rome, Romo (Spanish), Romme, Rom.

OTHER INTERESTING CHANGES.

Troxler changed into..	Stroxler, Stroscler, Drozeler, Troesscler, Troxlaire, Drotscler, Trocsler, Trucksler, Trouchsler, Troustre, Troscler, Trocler, Trossclaire, Troscler, Trocher, Drotzeler, Droezler, Troxclair, Tros-lisser.
Kuhn.....	Coun, Cohn, Koun.
Mayer.....	Mayre, Maller, Mahir, Mahier, Maieux, Meyier, Mayeux.
Dubs.....	Tus, Touptz, Toubse, Toupse, Tups, now "Toups".
Ory.....	Orji, Oray, Orij, Haury, Aury.
Keller.....	Queller, Caler, Keler, Quellar. One "Don Juan Pedro Cuellar" signed his name in German script "Hansbeter Keller".
Held.....	Haid, Helder, Helette, Hail, Helle, Helte.
Steilleder.....	Stelider, Steilledre, Stillaitre, Stillait, Estilet, Steili, Steli now "Estilet".
Steiger.....	Stayer, Stahier, Sther, Stayre, Steili, Stayer, Steygre, Estaidre.
Jansen.....	Yentzen, Hentzen, Kensin.
Kleinpeter.....	Cloinpetre, Clampetre.
Ketterer.....	Quaitret.
Hans Erich Roder...	Anseriquier Auder.
Weisskraemer.....	Visecrenne.
Struempfl.....	Strimber, Estrenfoul.
Hansjoerg.....	Hensiery.
Graef (in).....	Crevine.
Kissinger.....	Guzinguer, Quisingre.
Urban Ohmesorg.....	Hour Pamonscaurse.
Dorothea Baer (in)...	Torotay Perrinne.
Miltenberger.....	Mil de Bergue.
Christmann.....	Crestman, Yresman, Krestman.
Wenger.....	Vinguer.
Bendernagel.....	Bintnagle.
Wehrle.....	Verlet, Verlay.
Schoderbecker.....	Chelaudtre, Chloterberk.
Renner.....	Rinher.

Also Christian names as well as the names of places (see Fttler, from Colmar) and nicknames became family names.

The daughter of one Jacob Helfer was entered into the marriage register as "Mademoiselle Yocle," because her father was called familiarly "Jockel," which is a nickname for Jacob.

The family of Thomas Lesch was for some time lost to me until I recovered it under the name of "Daumas"="Thomas."

Remarkable was the fate of the name "Hofmann." The forms Ofman, Aufman, Eaufoan, Haufman, Ophman, Oghman, Ocman, Hochman, Haukman, Hacmin, Aupemane, Augman, Olphman, and Ocmame were not the only changes that occurred. The family came from Baden and thus "de Bade" was often added to the name. In course of time the people forgot the meaning of "de Bade," and a new name was formed, "Badeau," with a feminine form, "Badeauine."

The eldest daughter of one Hofmann married a man by the name of "Achtziger." This name seems to have given a great deal of trouble. I found "Hacksiger," "Chactziger," "Oxtiger," "Oxtixer," "Axtigre," "Harzstingre," "Astringer," "Haxsitper," and "Horticair," but early the French officials (like in the case "Zweig-Labranche") translated the name Achtziger into French "Quatrevingt," to which they were in the habit of adding the original name as best they knew how. Now, as the eldest daughter of this Hofmann was called "Madame Quatrevingt," they seem to have called her younger sister in a joking way "Mademoiselle Quarante," for when she married she appears in the church register as "Mademoiselle Quarantine," alias "Hocman."

Finally, another name shall be mentioned here, which is now pronounced "Sheckshnyder." The legend is that six brothers by the name of "Schneider" came across the sea, and each one of them was called "one of the six Schneiders," hence the name "Sheckshnyder;" but this legend is, like many another legend, false. The first priest of St. John the Baptist, the German Capuchin father Bernhard von Limbach (1772), who wrote even the most difficult German names phonetically correct, entered the name as "Sheckschneider," which is an old German name. The progenitor of this family, Hans Reinhard Sheckschneider, is mentioned on the passenger list of one of the four pest ships which sailed from L'Orient on the twenty-fourth of January, 1721. There were no "six Schneider" on board, only he, his wife and two sons, one of whom died in Brest. Yet he was already called "Chezneider," even on board ship. From this came later the following forms, which were all taken from official documents:





*Free translation:* On the 21st of February 1785 Anton Weber, legitimate son of John Weber and Cath. Traeger (Tregre), married Cath. Scheckschneider, legitimate daughter of John Adam Scheckschneider and Agnes Mayer. Witnesses: Domingo Guide, Mathias Ory and Fred. Bertram.

Frater Francesco, Notario.

#### CONCLUSION.

The Creoles of German descent constitute even now a large, if not the largest, part of the white population of the German Coast, the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist, of Louisiana. But they spread at an early time, also, over neighboring districts, where their many children took up new lands for cultivation.

They went up to St. James parish, where some connected themselves with the Acadian families by marriages. They also went to the parishes of Assumption, Ascension, and Iberville, still further up the Mississippi. They went to where Donaldsonville now stands. On that place was the village of the Chetimachas Indians; and Bayou Lafourche, which there branches off from the Mississippi and extends for a distance of 110 miles to the Gulf of Mexico, was then called "Fourche des Chetimachas."

Down this bayou the descendants of the early Germans pressed and throughout the whole length of Bayou Lafourche I found many German names in the church registers of Donaldsonville, Paincourtville, Plattenville, Napoleonville, Labadieville, Thibodeaux, Houma and Lockport. Also the word "Teche" (Bayou Teche) is supposed to be derived from "Deutsch."

In the course of time, however, great changes have occurred among the descendants of the early Germans, though not so much in their physical appearance. There are still among them many of the ancient stalwart German type, who betray the French blood received in the course of time only by their more lively disposition; their are still blue eyes and blond hair among them, although in some families both types, the German and the Latin, seem to be equally represented; there is still the same very

large number of children to be found in their families; the Creole of German descent is still the most robust of the Creoles, and one very well known family still produces the same giants as in the days when their German great-grandfathers used to drive off the Acadians, when they came down from St. James to disturb the Saturday dances on the German Coast.

The changes spoken of refer chiefly to their economical condition. Through the Civil War many of these families lost not only their slaves, but also their plantations, the source of their once very considerable wealth. They have, therefore, shared the lot of the other Creoles. But, thanks to their inherited energy, they wrung an existence from the adverse conditions, and now that a new era of prosperity has dawned upon Louisiana, their prospects, too, have become brighter—many of them are now to be found in the professions, in commercial and industrial pursuits, and in official positions all over the State, in which they have invariably gained for themselves an enviable reputation, and often great distinction; others made use of their knowledge of planting by accepting after the war positions of managers of large estates, later renting and finally buying some of the many vacant plantations, and still others succeeded in preserving and increasing the ante bellum wealth of their families. The great majority of the Creoles of German descent may be said to be again on the road to prosperity.

But their golden age is passed, and will never return in the form in which they once enjoyed it. This they know, and for this reason their mind, especially that of the older generation, reverts with tender regret to the past. They also still remember their German descent, and when they now look sadly upon the land which their ancestors had conquered from the wilderness and the Mississippi, and which also once belonged to them, but which is now tilled by others, they still say with pride:

"WE ARE THE DESCENDANTS OF THOSE GERMANS WHO  
TURNED THE WILDERNESS INTO A PARADISE SUCH AS LOU-  
ISIANA NEVER POSSESSED BEFORE."

May they ever remember their German ancestors and emulate their example!

*The German Waldeck Regiment  
and  
The Sixtieth or "Royal American Regiment on Foot"  
in the War of 1779 to 1781.*

Although not bearing on the history of the settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana, a short account is added here of the part which the German Waldeck regiment and the 60th or Royal American regiment took in the Anglo-Spanish War of 1779-1781. This war belongs to the colonial history of Louisiana; and as this work deals with the Germans of that period, the German soldier who fought on Louisiana soil in colonial times and there, no doubt, also met the German pioneer, may justly claim some space in this book.

During the War of Independence England secured from some of the smaller principalities of Germany auxiliary troops which fought on the English side. There was no political alliance between these principalities and England, it was traffic in human flesh, pure and simple. England rented these troops to fight for her, paid a good rental for them, and a fixed price for every soldier killed or wounded. To the honor of the great majority of the German monarchs be it said that they strongly disapproved of this traffic, and that the King of Prussia openly favored the American cause and forbade the English auxiliary troops to march through his kingdom.

There were 29,166 German soldiers in the English army:

Hesse-Cassel	furnished	16,992	men	of	whom	she	lost	6,500;
Brunswick	"	5,723	"	"	"	"	"	3,015;
Hanau	"	2,422	"	"	"	"	"	981;
Ansbach Bayreuth	"	1,644	"	"	"	"	"	461;
Waldeck	"	1,225	"	"	"	"	"	720;
Anhalt-Zerbst	"	1,160	"	"	"	"	"	176;
		<hr/>						
		29,166						11,853

The very great loss in men was due in part to the fact that a great number of these German soldiers, on coming into contact with the Germans living in America, who were loyal Americans, and of whom many thousands fought in the revolutionary army under Washington, were persuaded to abandon the English cause and settled in this country.

In May, 1779, hostilities broke out between Spain and England; and the boundary line between the English and the Spanish possessions in America—the Mississippi River, Bayou Manchac, the Amite River, and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain—became a scene of war, and some of the principal actors were German troops.

The English held Fort Panmure, where Natchez now stands; a post on Thompson's Creek, near the present Port Hudson; Fort New Richmond, now Baton Rouge; Fort Bute, on the Mississippi, at the entrance into Bayou Manchac; a post on the Amite River, presumably "French Settlement," below the confluence of Bayou Manchac and Amite River and Big Collyell Creek and Amite River; Mobile, and Pensacola. In order to strengthen these positions the English sent some of their auxiliary troops, the German Waldeck regiment, from New York by way of Jamaica to Pensacola, where they landed on the twenty-ninth of January, 1779.

Here the Waldeckers met a company of German recruits belonging to the 16th regiment, eight companies of the "Royal American Regiment on Foot," also known as the 60th English regiment, and some royalists from Maryland and Pennsylvania.

The 60th regiment was raised by order of the Parliament in 1755. "The men were chiefly Germans and Swiss who had settled in America. They were all zealous Protestants and, in general, strong, hardy men, accustomed to the American climate and, from their religion, language and race particularly proper to oppose the French."<sup>29</sup> As they could not speak English, however, it became necessary to grant commissions to a number of foreign Protestants who had served abroad as officers or engineers and spoke the German language. On the fifteenth of June, 1756, forty German officers came to America to serve in this regiment. The Rev. Michael Schlatter, the head of the Reformed German Church in America, was the chaplain of this regiment from 1756 to 1782. While in Pensacola, the 60th regiment still consisted "mainly of Germans."

<sup>29</sup> J. G. Rosengarten: *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*; Philadelphia, 1890, pages 15 to 24.

The English forces on the Mississippi being only 500 men, under Lieutenant Colonel Dickson, who urgently called for reinforcements, part of the 60th regiment and the grenadier company of the Waldeckers left Pensacola for the Mississippi on the nineteenth of June, 1779. On the second of August Major von Horn, with his company of Waldeckers and fifteen men of the company of Colonel Hanxleden, followed, and on the thirtieth of the same month another company of Waldeckers, that of Captain Alberti. They went by way of Lake Pontchartrain, Amite River and Bayou Manchac.

The Spanish in New Orleans succeeded in capturing some of the English transports on Lake Pontchartrain, among which was the vessel which carried the company of Captain Alberti, who, with his officers, three sergeants, one drummer and forty-nine privates, was taken prisoner and brought to New Orleans, where he died of fever on the twenty-first of July, one day after Lieutenant von Goren had died of the same disease.

On the twenty-second of August, 1779, the Spanish Governor Galvez left New Orleans with a force of 1430 men and a small gun fleet to attack the English posts on the Mississippi. On his approach, the main force of the English withdrew towards Baton Rouge, leaving in Fort Bute Captain von Haake with a detachment of twenty Waldeckers. A recent history of Louisiana says that Galvez took this post by "assault," and even gives the name of the first Creole to enter the fort. There cannot have been much fighting at Fort Bute. From the fact that only eight prisoners were taken by Galvez, and the further fact that Captain von Haake later fought in Baton Rouge, it seems probable that this officer, on hearing of the large force marching against him, withdrew from Fort Bute, leaving a few men behind to make a show of resistance and hereby detain Galvez for a few days on his march to Baton Rouge. In this they seem to have succeeded, as Galvez waited five days before ordering the "assault."

Then he pressed on to Baton Rouge, which he also intended to take by assault; but after losing 500 men in the first, and 140 in a subsequent assault in which he was even compelled to withdraw his batteries, he concluded to invest the post. Lieutenant

Colonel Dickson was not prepared to resist a regular siege, and as many of his men were sick, an honorable surrender was arranged. The English left Baton Rouge with all the honors of war, drums beating and banners flying. The prisoners were to be taken first to New Orleans and thence transported to New York, and were not to fight again within eighteen months. Every officer retained his sword and every man his private property.

Of the Waldeckers two captains, three lieutenants, three surgeons, eight sergeants, six drummers, three servants, and 176 privates surrendered in Baton Rouge. Ensign Nolting and one private fell. Lieutenant Leonhardi, who had distinguished himself during the two assaults of the Spaniards, died of his wounds on the Mississippi while being conveyed to New Orleans. One surgeon, two non-commissioned officers and nineteen privates died of their wounds; and one officer and six privates were slightly wounded. Of the other troops fighting on the side of the English, 216 surrendered.

From letters written by German officers, then prisoners of war in New Orleans, and from published diaries, we learn that many of the Waldeckers died in this city, and that many were "still sick." Lieutenant Strubberg, in a letter to a brother officer in Pensacola, speaks very highly of Governor Galvez, who often invited the German officers to dinner, and even allowed them to visit their comrades in Pensacola. "The people of New Orleans, too," he says, "were very friendly and kind."

Meanwhile, Governor Galvez went with a large fleet and a landing army to Mobile, which was ill prepared to resist an attack, and which surrendered after a breach had been made in the walls of the fort, on the fourteenth of March, 1780, before the men of the 60th regiment and the rest of the Waldeckers sent from Pensacola for the relief of that town could reach there. The relief column consisted of 522 men. It returned to Pensacola on the nineteenth of March.

This expedition from Pensacola to Mobile—72 miles in incessant rain and over soft soil, "not a human dwelling, and at night surrounded by wild beasts"—is described by the Waldeckers as one of their greatest hardships. They also complained of the poor fare in Pensacola.

Chaplain Steuernagel writes: "In the morning we drink a glass of water and eat a piece of bread; at noon we have nothing to drink but water, and our supper consists of a pipe of tobacco and a glass of water." A ham was sold for seven dollars, a pound of tobacco cost four dollars, a pound of coffee one dollar and a "Mass" (about one liter) of whiskey cost eight "Gulden schweres Geld."

On the third of January, 1781, the English commander of Pensacola, Major General Campbell, ordered Colonel von Hanxleden, of the Waldeckers, to proceed with one hundred men of the 60th regiment, eleven mounted Provincials, 300 Indians, and 60 men of his own regiment, to the "French village on the Mississippi" to drive the Spaniards out of their intrenchments. On this occasion the Waldeck troops consisted of Captain von Baumbach, Lieutenants von Wilmowski and Stirling, ensign Ursal, six non-commissioned officers, two buglers, and forty-seven privates. Colonel von Hanxleden arrived in front of the enemy on the seventh of January, and attempted to take the Spanish works by assault. The Spaniards resisted stubbornly, and although the Germans repeatedly attacked with their bayonets, their courage was in vain, as their force was too small and as the Indians could not support them effectively. Colonel von Hanxleden died a hero's death leading his men, Lieutenant Stirling and the English Lieutenant Gordon fell, Captain von Baumbach and an officer of the provincials were wounded, and so were many others. The Spaniards, too, lost heavily, and one of their magazines was set on fire. The body of Colonel von Hanxleden was hastily buried under a large tree, and the Spaniards are said to have honored the dead hero by putting a fence around his grave.

The location of this battlefield is in doubt. The designation "French village on the Mississippi" cannot be correct, for it would have taken Colonel von Hanxleden a great deal more than four days to reach the Mississippi from Pensacola, and his brave soldiers could not have returned to Pensacola on the ninth of January, two days after the fight. It must have been some French village between Pensacola and Mobile, and Mr. Hamilton, the author of "*Colonial Mobile*," a native Mobilian and a most pains-

taking and reliable authority, says: "This was on the coast below where the Apalache or Tensaw River empties into Mobile Bay."

After the fall of Mobile, Galvez went to Havana to secure reinforcements, and when these had arrived he appeared before Pensacola on the ninth of March, 1781, and two days later began the bombardment. This was continued, with some interruptions, for two months, when one of the powder magazines in the fort exploded, causing such devastation that the Spaniards were able to enter the fort in such numbers that further resistance was impossible. Then Pensacola surrendered on the ninth of May upon the same conditions as Baton Rouge had done. The prisoners were sent to New York. In Pensacola 800 men fought against 14,000, and Governor Galvez is said to have been greatly mortified when he heard that so small a number had resisted him for such a length of time. (See *Die deutschen Huelfstruppen im Nordamerik, Befreiungskrieg*," by Max von Eelking, Hannover, 1883.)

In Pensacola the German troops, to their great surprise, found a countryman among the Indian chiefs. His name was "Brandenstein," and he had deserted as a soldier from Waldeck. After a very eventful career, he had become a fullfledged Indian, and even a chief. He served as an interpreter between the Germans and his tribe.



## GERMANS IN TEXAS.

(Continued.)

By GILBERT G. BENJAMIN, PH. D.

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This platform brought letters to the various newspapers of the State. Editorials were written regarding it. The following letter, date New Braunfels, June 20, 1855, will show the feeling aroused among both classes of the population. The letter was in reply to one of June 16, of that year, signed "Curtius". The letter reads as follows:

"In the *Texas State Times* of the 16th. inst., there appeared an article signed 'Curtius,' which charges the German population of Western Texas with having assumed toward the native-born citizens and their institutions, domestic and political, an attitude which is becoming of serious moment in this part of the State \* \* \*

"Mr. 'Curtius' asks 'who are the Germans of Texas then and what are they doing?' and says, 'They Are The Escaped Victims of Foreign Tyranny And Despotism.' Now, I would answer this question in a different way. The Germans are industrious, peaceable, law-abiding citizens, who have contributed very much wherever they have settled in the United States to the prosperity of the country, a fact fully acknowledged by the American public journals. \* \* \* What was the Guadalupe valley and the country west of it, before these Germans arrived? What is it now? Who contributed more to the prosperity of that part of Texas than those Germans? In 1844, when your correspondent arrived here, Lavaca, Victoria, Gonzales and Seguin, were very small places, containing but few inhabitants, with little or no trade, and money exceedingly scarce. Beyond Seguin, there was no sign of civilization, San Antonio excepted. \* \* \* Who went forward to the frontier without even the least protection from the government? Forsooth, the Germans. It is well known that when, in 1846, the German emigration company wanted to settle their emigrants on the Perdinales, about seventy miles from all settlements, in the middle of the Indian Territory, the Governor of Texas said that he would not give them any protection; but, in spite of that, those Germans advanced thither, when the freight to New Braunfels was from \$3 to \$4 per 100 pounds, on account of the Mexican War, and besides there was much sickness then prevailing in Western Texas. Notwithstanding these and many other contending difficulties, the German colonists went up there \* \* \* and protected themselves under countless priva-

tions; \* \* \* . Still, through their perseverance and energy, they improved the lands, founded the town of Fredericksburg, \* \* \*. These Germans in 1847-1848 went thirty-six miles further to the Llano, and thereby actually reached Fisher and Miller's grant, and they have there still some very fine settlements. \* \* \*

"Mr. 'Curtius' charges the Germans with treason on account of their 'famous platform convention and their annual singing societies, as they are termed, where they are called together from every part of the State annually, and there hidden from the eyes of the native citizens, they resolve to abolish the Presidency, the Sabbath, grand juries, etc., and conspire to do other things, which are never known except by accident and are abominable to native Americans.'"

The writer answers this by stating that the singing societies of the different settlements meet for the purpose of singing and amusement. The Americans were not invited, because they had no societies. The writer claims further that the platform was formed by a few Germans, not natives of the United States, who did not understand what they were doing.

The Germans of New Braunfels were accused of mobbing a lawyer and ordering all the Americans to leave that place before a specified time. This was denied by the writer quoted above.<sup>162</sup>

The *Indianola Bulletin* declares that the Germans as a whole were not the originators of the animosity existing between them and the native citizens; that whatever trouble has arisen between the two elements of the population, has been caused by a few fanatics among them.<sup>163</sup>

A convention of the citizens of Comal County was held at New Braunfels June 26, 1855, and resolutions were adopted. In the resolutions it was declared, that the Germans did not have any hostile feelings toward the Americans; that they acknowledged their allegiance to the laws of Texas and the United States.<sup>164</sup>

Busey states that the *Galveston Zeitung* of August 19, 1855, the organ of the Germans in Texas, contained the following statement:

"You have often observed that the continual clashing between natives and foreigners might easily come to a general eruption, which would result disastrously to the Germans, unless we consider in time the proverb that, 'He who desires peace should prepare for war.'

<sup>162</sup> *Texas State Gazette*, June 30, 1855.

<sup>163</sup> *Indianola Bulletin*, quoted in *Texas State Gazette*, June 30, 1855.

"The Cincinnati April Scenes and those at Columbus, have shown that the police in such cases are not fully sufficient for our guard, or suppression of the mob. In such cases, we must depend upon ourselves to defend our families and property, as is our duty and right. Without an organization, this is impossible. In the moment of an attack, it is too late to form such an organization; our duty is to organize beforehand. I therefore submit the following proposition:

"1st. To form in every town, where there is sufficient German population, one or more guard companies who shall furnish their arms.

"2nd. The uniform must be everywhere the same, to preserve equality. The uniform is necessary to prevent confusion and to distinguish our friends.

"3d. The arms must be everywhere the same and we recommend as the best arms (those) of the Turners and revolvers.

"4th. A member of any company shall be recognized as a member wherever there be such a company formed. All the companies in the United States must be in connection with one chief or leader.

"5th. The decade system is the most commendable; *i. e.*, every ten members to constitute one decade and make one leader, who in case of necessity can call together his nine comrades. The leaders then elect their officers. Five decades would be enough for one company."<sup>105</sup>

All sorts of rumors were prevalent regarding the German population. "Know-Nothingism" was at its height. Slavery was thought to be threatened. The Germans of New Braunfels, in a letter dated August 18, 1855, called upon the Chief Justice of Comal County, W. A. Andross, to reply to newspaper accounts which stated that the Germans were hostile to the Americans. Andross said that he found the Germans friendly and courteous to the Americans; that the charges made against them, that they had ordered the Americans to leave the town, were untrue; that many of the officers of the County, which was predominantly German, were Americans.<sup>106</sup>

It was rumored that an officer in the Texan "Rangers" had had a pitched battle with the Germans, and some twenty Germans

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<sup>105</sup> *Texas State Gazette*, July 11, 1855.

<sup>106</sup> Busey, *Immigration*, p. 28.

<sup>107</sup> *Texas State Gazette*, September 16, 1855.

had been killed and more wounded. This was declared to be false.<sup>167</sup>

The *State Gazette*, in an article entitled "Know-Nothingism in Texas", declares that the American party was preventing immigration; that 200 immigrants had arrived at Indianola October 2, 1855, and that only 80 remained on account of persecutions waged against foreigners. It further states that a project was on foot among the Germans of several places in Texas to emigrate to Costa Rica.<sup>168</sup>

An article in the same journal shows the attitude of the Germans toward politics. The battle cry of the democracy, "Equal rights for all and special privileges for none", appealed to them. The growing power of the Know-Nothing party in Texas caused them to swell the democratic ranks. The article in question is headed, "Who controls the German vote?" and says:

"The German vote is controlled by no one, nor by any party; they cannot be 'teased,' 'whipped in' or 'marshalled' by any one. Whoever thinks that the Germans as a mass are not able to control themselves; that they need advice; that they may be used as tools or footballs; or that they may be turned one way or the other: he is most certainly mistaken. \* \* \*

"We Germans, as a mass, are Democrats. \* \* \* The generality of the German population of the State of Texas are true, whole, uncontrolled and sound Democrats."<sup>169</sup>

It was claimed that the Germans, during an election in the fifties, held at one of the interior towns of Texas, marched in a body to the polls. They paraded their own flag, and marched through the streets singing German national airs.<sup>170</sup> This was probably simply a patriotic movement, which to-day would cause no comment. The Southerner thought that every meeting of these people was a move against his cherished "institution" of slavery. Their singing societies and their "Turnvereins" appeared to him as secret societies aimed at the destruction of American

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, October 6, 1855.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid*, October 20, 1855.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*, July 11, 1857.

<sup>170</sup> Bussey, p. 30.

government and institutions. Some of the papers recognized the fact that the Germans were peaceable and law abiding. As time went on, the Germans and Americans more easily amalgamated. The German saw that it was for his interest to do nothing reflecting in any way on slavery. The *Southern Intelligencer* in 1859 stated that it preferred German immigration to that from the North.<sup>171</sup> It is doubtless true that the Germans would not have caused any comment had it not been for the rise of "Know-Nothingism." That movement tended to cause the Germans to vote as a unit, and to take part in politics. This aroused the ire of the Southerner, and hence caused the races to grow apart.

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## CHAPTER V.

### SLAVERY. NUMBER OF NEGROES IN THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS.

#### ATTITUDE OF GERMANS TOWARD SLAVERY, SECESSION AND RECONSTRUCTION.

The Germans by disposition and training were opposed to slavery. They considered it an evil and felt that it lessened the value of their own labor. Settling in communities as they did in Western Texas, slave and free labor did not come into conflict to any great extent. A writer in 1849 states that the introduction of Germans and other Europeans "is going on with great rapidity, that they were usually poor and had early imbibed an abolitionist spirit; that it was felt that a struggle was ready to commence, and that Texas would be greatly agitated over this question; that already the planters were jealous of European immigration."<sup>1</sup>

That the American Government took an interest in the introduction of the European immigrants into Texas, is shown by the correspondence of Secretary of State Upshur with Edward Everett, United States Minister to England, and with General

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<sup>171</sup> *Southern Intelligencer*, Austin, April 6, 1859.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Journey through Northeastern Texas*, 1849.

W. S. Murphy, *Chargé d'affaires* of the United States in Texas.<sup>3</sup> To the latter he writes as follows:

"If Texas should not come into our Union, measures will be taken to fill her territory with emigrants from Europe. Extensive arrangements for this are already made, and they will be carried into effect as soon as the decision of Texas shall be known. These emigrants will bring with them European feelings and European opinions. Emigration from the United States will cease; at all events, the people of the Southern States will not run the hazard of subjecting their slave property to the control of a population who are anxious to abolish slavery. Texas will soon cease to be an American state. Her population, her politics and her manners, will stamp her as European. This fact alone will destroy the sympathy which now exists between that country and the United States.

"But the first measures of the new emigrants, as soon as they shall have sufficient strength, will be to destroy that great domestic institution, upon which, so much of the prosperity of our Southern country depends. To this England will stimulate them, and she will also furnish the means of accomplishing it. \* \* \* I will only add, that if Texas should not be attached to the United States, she cannot maintain that institution ten years."<sup>4</sup>

This letter suggests an interesting speculation. What might have been the result if Texas had not been annexed? The increasing number of immigrants and their settlement at one point might have made it no impossibility for slavery to have been kept from their borders, and part of the country, at least, might have become free territory.

There are several reasons why these propositions did not come true so far as Western Texas was concerned. The planters, on account of the great numbers of Germans, did not settle that territory. There was a competition of interests between the free and slave labor. The territory was very near the border, and made it convenient for runaway slaves to escape into Mexico;<sup>5</sup> it was also too near the territory of the Indians and slaves would be in danger of being taken as booty by them; it was also

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Correspondence, *Senate Documents*, 28th Congress, 1st Session, Doc. 341.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of A. P. Upshur, Secretary of State, dated Washington, January 16, 1854. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Kapp states that 150 negroes escaped into Mexico in 1854. *N. Y. Tribune*, January 20, 1855.

a long distance from a market, making the culture of cotton less profitable. The great pasture lands were more suited to grazing. Negroes were not adapted to looking after herds, where they would have to be isolated and at a distance from overseers. These facts kept the planters from the country occupied by the Germans and lessened the danger of a conflict over the question of slavery.<sup>6</sup>

"As to slavery, the mass existing among themselves, where no slaves are seen, and having no instinctive prejudice of color, feel simply the natural repugnance for a system of forced labor universal in free society. Few of them concern themselves with the theoretical right or wrong of the institution, and while it does not interfere with their own liberty or progress, are indifferent of its existence."<sup>7</sup>

The authors of handbooks and other works written to stimulate immigration, attempted to prove that slavery did not have a strong hold on Texas. The pamphlet, issued by the Adelsverein, announcing its plans, quotes a letter written to the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* by a German in Texas, who states that he is opposed to slavery; that the plantations in Texas are small and that slaves "are made one of the family;" he hopes that the influence of the North and of England will root out slavery. He says that the number of negroes in relation to the size of the land is small.<sup>7</sup> Martin, in his book which was written to induce Germans to settle in Texas, declares that no slavery is allowed in the territory of the German Colonization Society.<sup>8</sup> Beyer, writing in 1846, states that no slavery is permitted in the German colonies; that it is the established opinion that with the increase of the German population, slavery will entirely disappear from Texas.<sup>9</sup> He further states:

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<sup>6</sup> For the above, cf. *Texas Journeys*, pp. 440-441.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 9, 1844; quoted in Texas, *Ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer*. Bremen, 1846.

<sup>9</sup> Martin, *Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Texas in Biebrich*. Wiesbaden, 1848, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Beyer, M., *Das Auswanderungsbuch, oder Führer und Rathgeber bei der Auswanderung nach Nord Amerika und Texas*. Leipzig, 1846, p. 149.

"It has been asserted that the cultivation of cotton, sugar and tobacco, in the hot climate is too difficult for whites, but the contrary has been proved by thousands of examples." <sup>10</sup>

These will suffice to show the attempts to discountenance the existence of slavery in Texas, and to influence the Germans to immigration, showing that the writers recognized that the known antipathy of the Germans to slavery should be overcome.

Many writers wrote regarding slavery in Texas, and these works probably added to the German's previous dislike to that institution. Solms-Braunfels, through his influence as Commissioner-General of the *Adelsverein*, must have been a factor in keeping away Germans from Texas on account of his descriptions of slavery in that State. Whether or not his book had any influence in hindering immigration, it must have had an influence in increasing whatever dislike they may have had for that institution. He says:

"To me personally (and I hope the same is also so for the majority of my countrymen) it is not evident why these men to whom almighty God gave a black colored skin, should belong to others to whom He gave a white skin, to treat as a horse, a dog, \* \* \* But the free-born Americans, whose land is the freest in the world, whose laws and institutions are the best planned in the world, do not find it odious that these unfortunate negroes, after being mixed with the blood of whites until the fifth generation, should be cast under the yoke of a slavery, which would be degrading to an animal.

"The negroes found in Texas are certainly not from Africa, but they are brought from the United States, and it is the simplest and easiest thing to escape the English and French ships cruising about the African coast. There are in the United States complete negro breeding places from which those raised are brought to the slave market at New Orleans. Here are seen hundreds offered for sale, and the brokers, by whom they are offered for sale, praise their nefarious business. Buyers go to the sales, as they would to their work, or as we go to the inspection of the horses of a trader.

"It is now freely said, that the negroes are spared and well treated, since they represent an important capital. This ought to be the case if one holds the principle of slavery to be permissible. I have seen them in Louisiana plantations, where the negroes were well treated, and appeared to be well inclined toward their masters. Their welfare depends, however, on the whim or feelings of the

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*



master, and if they are well clothed and nourished, on the other hand, an angry master will cast upon them more blows than a mild, calm owner. More still, upon the whim or feeling of the master, depends the treatment of the slave by each of his overseers. These are always Americans and usually rough men. With their each momentary whim or predilection for this or that negress, the treatment of the poor blacks entrusted to them is decided. They have full right to lash, when it pleases them, also the right to shoot them down on the occasion of any revolt. What man of honor or feeling will allow himself to engage in this business which allows them to bind calmly to a tree these unfortunate creatures, who dare not refuse to submit, and to punish them with as many as a hundred lashes of the whip; or at night spying about their dwellings, to listen to their conversation in order to find out some plot of flight?"

The prince states that negroes are hunted with hounds; that he had seen a pack of hounds used for that purpose himself; that the Americans defend themselves on the ground that the negro is not the intellectual equal of the white. He says that every precaution is taken to prevent them from learning or advancing. He states that he found "more honesty, more fidelity, more attachment, more thankfulness among them, generally more sense, than among many Americans or European Americans."<sup>11</sup>

Roemer advises his countrymen not to emigrate to Texas on account of slavery. He prefers the Western and Northwestern States for that reason. He says:

"In all slaveholding states, the position of the free workman, dependent upon their own labor, who is not a slave owner, is much less agreeable than in the free states, and is always to the slave-owning planter, more or less subordinate. Wholly influenced by the somewhat decided inclination against negro slavery, very few German immigrants will find themselves in a position to purchase negroes. The great majority will be compelled to rely upon the labor of their own hands, and hence must be concerned by the disadvantages mentioned."<sup>12</sup>

From the earliest period of German colonization, few Germans were slave owners. Sommer mentions a German, in 1845, who possessed a negro and a negress.<sup>13</sup> Roemer states in 1846,

<sup>11</sup> Solms-Braunfels, *Carl Prinz zu, Texas, etc.* Frankfurt a. M., 1846, p. 39ff.

<sup>12</sup> Roemer, p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> Sommer, 1846, pp. 74-75.

that many German families were settled in the territory between the Brazos and Colorado, namely, in the neighborhood of Industry and Cummins Creek, and that only a few were plantation owners and possessors of slaves.<sup>14</sup> In 1856, when Olmsted visited New Braunfels, which then had a population of three thousand, there was an American planter in the neighborhood who owned one hundred negroes, an American in the town, owning one negro girl and a German who hired one as a domestic.<sup>15</sup> The same writer states that he did not meet one German slave owner among the Germans of Western Texas.<sup>16</sup> He states that a citizen of San Antonio, who, on account of business relations with the Germans was well informed in the matter, told him that he knew, in all, of twelve German slave proprietors in Texas. Ten of these had unwillingly bought housemaids to relieve their wives, who were unable to find German servants; one man owned four field hands in Gillespie County; another about the same number in Washington County—both old Texans of '36.<sup>17</sup>

According to the Census of 1850, Comal County contained sixty-one negroes out of a total population of 1723; Gillespie, in which Fredericksburg was situated, five negroes out of a population of 1176; Medina, in which Castroville was situated, twenty-eight negroes out of a population of 909.<sup>18</sup> According to the *Texas Almanac*, Comal County had in 1855, 126 negroes, and Gillespie County, 63;<sup>19</sup> and in 1856 Comal County had 163 and Gillespie County 100 negroes, respectively.<sup>20</sup> Olmsted gives the total population for 1857 of Comal County as 3500 and Gillespie 2000.<sup>21</sup> The Census of 1870 gives as the population for 1860, of Comal County as 4030 and Gillespie County 2736.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Roemer, p. 20. This refers to the settlements of the thirties founded by Ernst, Kleberg, et al.

<sup>15</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, pp. 180-181.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, footnote.

<sup>18</sup> *Census* 1850, p. 503.

<sup>19</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1857, pp. 69-70.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 428, footnote.

<sup>22</sup> *Census*, 1870.

The *Texas Almanac* states that Comal County had 243 negroes and Gillespie County 30 negroes in 1860.<sup>23</sup> This shows that in these counties where the Verein settled its colonies, and where Germans were the predominating race, that the number of negroes was comparatively small. If we take in consideration the fact that many of these may have been free negroes and that those who were not may have been owned by Americans, it shows that very few Germans, if any, were possessors of slaves.<sup>24</sup>

There were two rival parties among the Germans.<sup>25</sup> The office holders and those who saw that it was for their interest and material advancement were friendly to the slave party. Many were, no doubt, adherents of the Democratic party because of principle. They believed that that was the party of the people. Its slogan "equal rights for all and special privileges for none," appealed to their democratic instincts.<sup>26</sup> There was no party to which an anti-slavery man could belong. There was little opportunity in a slave State for discussion of the question of slavery, so there was little chance to show great activity. The revolutionists of '48 brought a new element into the State. To many of them slavery was abhorrent.

"It is not to be believed that European democrats, who have suffered exile for their social theories, would at once abandon them, and, by fraternizing with an aristocracy of slave proprietors, belie here every principle for which they had struggled at home."<sup>27</sup>

It is noteworthy that many of the leaders of whatever movement against slavery there was, were of those coming after the late forties. Among them were two men who had an especial influence, both on the culture of the community and on politics. These were Dr. Adolf Douai, who was the first editor of the *San Antonio Zeitung*, and Dr. A. Siemering, who was the founder of the *San Antonio Frei Presse*, in 1865, and later of

<sup>23</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1861.

<sup>24</sup> In 1870 there were only about a dozen negroes in Gillespie County, which had a population at that time of 3500. *Texas Almanac*, 1871, p. 102.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 434.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Supra*, Ch. IV, p. 84.

<sup>27</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 438.

the *San Antonio Express*.<sup>28</sup> The fact that many were led to adopt the principles of the party in power through official pressure, is shown by the story noted in the *Southern Intelligencer*, of Austin, June 15, 1859. A postmaster, when asked if he were going to support Houston or Runnels, replied that Houston supported Buchanan's administration, Runnels did not. Buchanan made him postmaster.

In the German settlements where few Americans dwelt, and the number of slaves was comparatively small, there was no occasion for especial thought on the question of slavery. It was only in the cities such as San Antonio where the population was of equal proportion, that the interests of the two elements "clashed and bitter feelings" were aroused.<sup>29</sup> In that city in the early fifties a number of Germans raised by subscription enough money to support a local paper. This was the *Zeitung*. Dr. Adolf Douai, a prominent exile who had had literary experience, was made editor. The editor announced himself a radical Democrat, "and his determination to regard every political question from the point of view of social progress."<sup>30</sup> The tone of the paper was literary and educational, but slavery, of course, could not be ignored.

"Its economical variance with the interests of the German free laborers, and with the natural future of the Western prairies, was now and then dwelt upon; and on the main question of the essential temporariness or permanence of slavery in America, involving, in national politics, extension and furtherance, or restriction and localization, the ground natural to a democrat was taken."<sup>31</sup>

His topics discussing slavery circulated only among Germans, and hence the Americans took little notice of them at first. At San Antonio, May 14-16, 1854, the second annual musical festival of the Germans in Texas was held. The musical societies of that city, New Braunfels and Sisterdale, and representatives from the musical societies of Indianola, Victoria, La

<sup>28</sup> For brief sketch see Bruncken, *German Pol. Refugees*, p. 58ff; for Siemering, Armin Tenner: *Amerika, Index*.

<sup>29</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 433.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 434.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

Grange, Coletta and Fredericksburg were present. They sang songs of love, war, religion, etc.<sup>32</sup> On the fifteenth, a number of the men assembled and formed a political party. The *San Antonio Ledger* states that the Germans asserted that they did not intend to form a German party, but "to reject the abuses of the old party politics, the corruption of leading men and office-holders, and wished the Constitution of the United States to be really carried out."<sup>33</sup> The *Atlantische Studien*, of 1854, announced previously to the San Antonio convention that an organization had been formed among the Germans of Texas, and that resolutions had been adopted demanding, among other things, the gradual emancipation of slaves; that the same rights be given to the free colored men as to the whites; and the abolition of military justice in time of peace. It states that these resolutions will be discussed at the Sängersfest to be held at San Antonio in May of that year.<sup>34</sup> At the convention various resolutions were adopted.<sup>35</sup> The following resolution was adopted regarding slavery:

"Slavery is an evil whose ultimate removal is, according to democratic principles, indispensable; but as it affects only individual states, we demand: that the Federal Government refrain from all interference in affairs of slavery; but that, when any single state shall resolve on the removal of this evil, the aid of the government may be claimed."<sup>36</sup>

The following amendments were rejected:

"Slavery is, according to our views, a social evil, and possibly liable to conflict with white labor. But this institution comes too little home to Germans and is too much connected with the interests of our American fellow citizens, for us to feel ourselves urged to take, in this question, initiatory steps, or to act upon it politically."

<sup>32</sup> *San Antonio Ledger*, May 18, 1854.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Atlantische Studien*, 1854, p. 214.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. IV, for other resolutions.

<sup>36</sup> This is a translation given in Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 435, footnote. The original was: "Die Sklaverei ist ein Uebel, dessen endliche Beseitigung, den Grundsätzen der Demokratie gemäss, nothwendig ist; da sie aber nur einzelne Staaten betrifft, so fordern wir; Dass die Bundesregierung sich aller Einmischung in Sachen der Sklaverei enthalte; dass aber, wenn ein einzelner Staat die Beseitigung dieses Uebels beschliesst, alsdann zur Ausführung dieses Beschlusses die Bundeshülfe in Anspruch genommen werden kann."

"Negro slavery is an evil, perilous to the duration of the Union. Its abolition must be left to the individual states in which it exists. We German-speaking Texans are not naturally in a position to initiate measures, but we wish the Federal Government's patronage of the same dispensed with."<sup>27</sup>

The newspapers were filled with accounts denunciatory of the convention. It furnished thunder for the "Know-Nothing" movement. The *San Antonio Herald*, a "Know-Nothing" organ, was especially denunciatory and abusive. It claimed that the Germans were plotting to form a free state in Western Texas. This question will be considered in a more detailed account later. The *San Antonio Ledger*, June 22, 1854, in announcing the resolutions of the convention, says:

"We have been disposed \* \* \* to defend our German population against the charges of abolitionism and disposition to interfere with the laws of our country. If the above is true, we have been misled and have probably misled others. The charges are of a very serious nature." If the Germans are "engaged in forming secret societies in league with similar fanatics of the North, to undermine and uproot our institutions and laws \* \* \* it is time the people of the State should know it. Let any portion of our population undertake a crusade by means of secret associations or otherwise against slavery, our laws, our religion and its ministers in Texas, and they will raise a storm of indignation from which they will be glad to escape by any means within their power."

The same journal, under date of July 20, 1854, says that it was announced in a paper in Pennsylvania that the Germans were to hold a great abolition convention in San Antonio in May; that the same paper gave the number of bales of cotton raised in that section of Texas by free German labor and attempted to show that that labor was cheaper and better than slave labor. The *Ledger* continues: "If all this be true (and we do not doubt it is), it would seem that we have a branch of the underground railroad. No doubt, some of the directory reside in our city. Who knows?"

The Germans throughout the State, by means of resolutions and otherwise, hastened to deny the allegations made against them. They claimed that the singing societies met simply for singing and amusement; that Americans were not invited because they had no singing societies; that the platform of the San An-

<sup>27</sup> *Texas Journals*, footnote, p. 435.

tonio convention was adopted by Germans not natives of the United States; that the majority in Western Texas was opposed to the San Antonio convention.<sup>38</sup> A meeting of several hundred Germans was held in New Braunfels. Resolutions were proposed, in which the movement, originated by certain Germans of the North and responded to in Texas by the so-called San Antonio convention, were denounced. "It becomes our duty to assist with all good citizens in bringing such movements to an end."<sup>39</sup> The Washington correspondent of the *Austin Gazette* states that the abolitionists in Congress have their speeches duly translated into German and distributed under the Congressional "frank" among the Germans of Western Texas.<sup>40</sup>

The German paper at San Antonio was severely criticised by the newspapers of the State. It had published the resolutions of the San Antonio convention and had defended them. Its editor had to bear the brunt of the accusations against that convention. Two parties were formed among the Germans. A meeting of the stockholders of the paper was called, in which Douai's course was sustained, but the paper was sold and Douai continued to publish it himself. His editorials were translated into English so that they might be read by the Americans. This aroused the fury of the papers again, and the American merchants were prevailed upon to withdraw their advertisements.<sup>41</sup> The *State Gazette*, under date of May 12, 1855, contained the following regarding that publication:

"The editor of the German paper avers himself opposed to slavery, we are sorry to see anything that might ultimately destroy our peace and harmony. \* \* \* We are indeed sorry that a paper with free soil proclivities can find a resting place in Texas. If the editor of the *Zeitung* is a free soiler or an abolitionist, we would give him two alternatives, to desist from a doctrine which is to rob us of our prosperity or to take up his march."

Under date of the nineteenth of the same month, it declares:

"Were it printed in English, we do not believe that there is a respectable man in San Antonio that would not be incensed by its free soilism, and we cannot say what course might be pursued toward its proprietors."

<sup>38</sup> Cf. letter dated June 27, 1854, in *Texas State Gazette*, July 8, 1854; also same paper of June 30, 1855.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, July 29, 1854.

<sup>40</sup> *San Antonio Ledger*, July 20, 1854.

<sup>41</sup> Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 437.

Under date of June 22, the same periodical states that the *Zeitung* would come, in Louisiana, within the range of the statutes which provide for imprisonment for life or the infliction of the death penalty on any person who shall publish or distribute such works; that it hoped to see the Louisiana law re-enacted in Texas and carried out. Numerous conventions were held denying that the Germans were responsible for the views declared by Doctor Douai in the *San Antonio Zeitung*. One held in the Comal County Court-house in New Braunfels, illustrates the tendency of the German leaders to disclaim any views in accord with those set forth by Douai. The convention was held June 26, 1855. Resolutions were drawn up denying that the Germans of Comal County were in any way responsible for the sentiments as set forth in the *San Antonio Zeitung*; that only the individuals publishing and endorsing such resolutions should be held as sponsors.<sup>42</sup> At Lockhart, the Germans assembled and demanded that Douai be displaced from the editorship. The resolutions continued to state:

"We recommend to our German countrymen to discountenance and suppress attempts to disturb the institution of slavery, upon which is founded the prosperity and happiness of our Southern country; and to meet and express themselves most decidedly in regard to their true and genuine allegiance to the laws and institutions of the state which we inhabit, at a time when Northern abolitionists take as decided a stand, as to make actual aggression upon the constitutional rights and the property of our Southern states."<sup>43</sup>

The result of the attitude of the Americans, and the attitude later taken by the Germans, was that Douai was forced to abandon his paper and to go to the North to reside. Here he became a leader in the formation of the Republican Party, and was one of the Germans who issued at Boston a call to form a Republican organization of all Germans in the United States. He later became well known as a writer on pedagogical subjects.<sup>44</sup> His paper, under its new management, announced that it would advo-

<sup>42</sup> *State Gazette*, July 11, 1855.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, July 25, 1855.

<sup>44</sup> Bruncken, *Political Refugees*, p. 53ff.



cate the principles of the Democratic Party, believing that that party was "the conservative party of the Union," and that it insured "the permanency of our great Republic."<sup>43</sup>

The time adopted by the radical Germans was not suited to the advancement of their ideas. It was the time when the American party was gaining in influence and was beginning to enter Texan politics. The San Antonio convention furnished them material with which to cry out against interference by foreigners in politics; the danger from them of establishing abolition ideas; nay, even, they went so far as to claim that the Germans intended to form a free State in Texas. This statement was taken up by the "Know-Nothing" papers throughout the country. The result was that many Germans joined the Democratic ranks who might otherwise have been "left out of the fold." This fact is shown by the following quotation from the *State Gazette*, of Austin:

"In no part of the South has the recent contest with Know-Nothingism more fully determined the character of the foreign population in favor of slavery than in Western Texas. A few mad-caps and wild theorists among them had performed acts and enacted scenes which were greedily caught hold of by the Know-Nothings to stamp the whole German population with the charge of being abolitionists. \* \* \* The events of the past contest called out the German population, and they avowed their Southern feelings and opinions; advocated the institution of slavery, and finally put down the free soil paper at San Antonio, called the *Zeitung*, and established in its place a sound and orthodox democratic sheet with the whole Democratic ticket at its masthead.

"The Germans of Western Texas have vindicated their character from the reproaches of Know-Nothings, and when our railroads enable them to cultivate the soil on a larger scale than at present, they will be owners of slaves." <sup>44</sup>

The *New Braunfels Zeitung*, of which Dr. Ferdinand Lindheimer was the editor, states that the "Know-Nothing" party has accused the Germans of Texas of not being sound states-rights men. Lindheimer repudiates the accusation and declares his views as follows:

"According to the Constitution of the Union, and the law of nations, a State may permit or exclude slavery from within her limits, and no other state can interfere with this right. For the

<sup>43</sup> *San Antonio Ledger*, October 1, 1855.

<sup>44</sup> *State Gazette*, May 10, 1856.

same reason, it may be said that a territory can neither enact laws impairing the value of slaves, nor deny the right to the owner to introduce slave property before such Territory has the necessary number of inhabitants to be admitted as a sovereign State into the Union in the manner prescribed by law."<sup>47</sup>

The Democratic papers declared that the attitude of the "Know-Nothing" party toward foreigners was keeping immigrants from settling in Texas.<sup>48</sup>

The *Texas State Gazette* attributed an article copied from the *New Orleans Creole* to the *Western Texan*, in which the latter journal, under the heading "Western Texas a Free State," was made to say:

"Some may look upon such an event as a free State of Western Texas, as improbable, particularly at a time when such strenuous efforts are being made to carry slavery into Kansas, where slavery does not exist by positive law. Yet there is a strong probability that such an event will occur in the next ten years. Our opinion is based upon the fact that foreign immigration is greater than domestic, by at least ten to one; and upon the well known fact that all foreign immigration is opposed to slavery, from principle, prejudice and education. And there are many of the immigrants from the other states opposed to slavery, who quietly tolerate it so long as it is an institution of the State, but who will vote no slavery when the question comes up, whether Western Texas shall be free or slave State. This fact is not generally known; if so, it is not duly considered. The vote of the adopted citizens now number at least twelve thousand. In less than ten years it will be changed to three times that number, unless the naturalization laws are changed. This increase will be a much greater ratio than that of the native born vote."<sup>49</sup>

The *Western Texan* immediately denied this charge, and the *San Antonio Herald*, a "Know-Nothing"<sup>50</sup> organ, admitted that the article in question came from its columns, with the following comment:

"What doctrine is set forth in the above extract that he refuses to 'daddy'? Is it the probability that an effort will be made at no distant day, to declare Western Texas a free State? Is it the fact that foreigners are opposed to slavery, and will, almost to a man,

<sup>47</sup> Quoted from *New Braunfels Zeitung* in *State Gazette*, September 27, 1856.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *State Gazette*, October 20, 1855, and *San Antonio Ledger*, December 16, 1858.

<sup>49</sup> *State Gazette*, May 24, 1856.

<sup>50</sup> For Know-Nothing influence, cf. *San Antonio Ledger*, January 26, 1858.

vote for making Western Texas a free State when the question comes up? Or is it that this question will come up within the next ten years, owing to the more rapid increase of the foreign over the native vote, unless the naturalization laws are changed? He should be more explicit these suspicious times. We contend that the contents of the article are not mere speculations.

"If facts like the foregoing do not warn the people of the South, they will not be awakened 'though one rose from the dead'! It is a monstrous anomaly that while we are constantly excited by attempts to make free soil on our Western border, we exhibit no emotion as to a similar process going surely on in territory, in which the South has the deepest interest."<sup>51</sup>

The *New Orleans Picayune* says, regarding the division of Texas, that one of the principal reasons Texas has not been divided into more than one State has been the fear that one division would be a free State, because of the predominance of foreigners who are opposed to slavery. It says that that danger is over-rated, but to offset it, it is proposed to make a State out of the First Congressional District, which is pro-slavery in its sentiments.<sup>52</sup>

From these citations it is readily seen that this idea that the Germans intended to form a free State out of Western Texas was due to the "Know-Nothing" journals, which wished to use it as a slogan against all foreigners. It is probable that some of the more radical Germans, however, may have had such ideas in mind. Kapp states that all the Germans of Texas were abolitionists; that an immigration of from ten to twenty thousand Germans a year would soon result in forming a free State in Western Texas.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *State Gazette*, May 24, 1856. The article in the *New Orleans Creole* on which these editorials were based, was:

"A Free State out of Texas. From various sources we have come to possession of facts which go to show that the Germans, French, Swiss, Hungarians and other foreigners will, ere long, make a free state out of Western Texas. We have lately conversed with men from that part of the State, and they unhesitatingly aver that the foreigners there to a man are opposed to slavery.

"There are also men from the North who are insidious leaders in the movement, and are urging the foreigners to take a bold stand in favor of the project. They are busy in the work of drilling them for the contest, and already boast of having ten thousand voters."

Cf. Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 502; also *New York Independent*, October 22, 1857. Von Holst evidently accepted these statements as true that the Germans intended to form a free state. Cf. Von Holst, Vol. VI, p. 305, footnote.

<sup>52</sup> From *New Orleans Picayune*, quoted in *San Antonio Ledger*, December 26, 1857.

<sup>53</sup> Kapp, article in *N. Y. Tribune*, January 20, 1855.

The result of the "Know-Nothing" movement is shown in the returns of the German counties in the elections when it was at its height. The counties of Comal, Gillespie and Medina chose as their representative in the Texan House of Representatives, Jacob Waelder, a Northern German who was pro-slavery in his proclivities. He made the following speech in that body:

"Sir, if the citizens of German birth were not sound upon the question of slavery, I would not now probably occupy a seat upon this floor \* \* \* I can say, sir, and I do say without the fear of successful contradiction, that the citizens of German birth residing in the counties of Comal, Gillespie, Medina and Bexar, are in their majority neither abolitionists or free soilers, but as a body, they are as loyal to the Union and as loyal to the institutions of the South as the citizens of any section of the country, North or South."<sup>44</sup>

In the November elections of 1856 Comal County gave Buchanan 256 votes to 26 cast for Fillmore for President.<sup>45</sup> The small number of votes cast in proportion to the population is readily noticed. A number of the naturalized citizens of Fayette County, July 19, 1857, in mass-meeting assembled, resolved to vote unanimously the Democratic ticket.<sup>46</sup> In a Democratic meeting held at New Braunfels, Waelder was commended for his speech, and Sam. Houston was denounced as a panderer to abolitionism and free-soilism. It was recommended to their senator and representative to aid in the passage of a resolution asking him to resign.<sup>47</sup> It is stated that Houston said that he expected the vote of the Germans because they believed him an abolitionist.<sup>48</sup>

Douai, who, since his removal from Texas had been active in the interests of the Republican party, came out in the *New York Tribune* with an attack on Waelder, who had been appointed as consul to Frankfurt on the Main. He asserted that Waelder, in defending a man who had made an assault upon an anti-slavery German, stated that to kill a man who assailed the institution of

<sup>44</sup> Delivered in Texan House of Rep., November 15, 1855.

<sup>45</sup> *State Gazette*, November 15, 1856.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, July 29, 1857.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, December 29, 1855.

<sup>48</sup> *San Antonio Ledger*, July 25, 1857.

slavery was no crime.<sup>59</sup> The *Tribune* came out with an extended editorial regarding the subject. Among other statements, it said:

"This miserable renegade has been sent to disgrace us abroad. We trust, however, the mark we thus stamp upon him will secure him repudiation in Germany, such as his conduct in America has amply deserved."<sup>60</sup>

Waelder later replied in June in the same paper denying Douai's assertions.

The question of reviving the slave trade brought out in the *New Braunsfels Zeitung* an editorial in opposition to it. On account of its arguments, and as an example of the style of Ferdinand Lindheimer's editorials, incidentally showing the character of the German Texan newspaper, it is given *in extenso*:

"We are firmly convinced that at the coming Democratic State Convention, the various views regarding the slave trade being reopened will not only be amply discussed, but will also influence the nominations. Undoubtedly, the convention will serve as a barometer indicating whether the ultra Southern or conservative side of the Slavery question will be in the ascendancy. The results of these debates will be the more important as the eyes of the whole South will be fixed upon Texas. We have repeatedly demonstrated that we can see no solid reasons for the revival of the African Slave Trade. The slave trade resumed against the will and in contravention to treaties with European nations would necessarily demand the protection of an American fleet, for the support of which Congress as now composed, would never vote an appropriation, and a separation of the South from the North is not so easily accomplished. And even were the South to form a distinct republic, it could not successfully combat the maritime powers of the world in defense of the Slave Trade.

"If the measure of utility is applied to the slavery agitation as practiced both North and South by the ultras, the sad result seems to follow that on the social-political and national-economical field even where reality should pre-eminently be discussed, an unconscientious humbug is enacted. The ultra Southerner should consider that only a possibility has a hope of realization; and the ultra Northerner, that only realities are possible. This is the position we occupy on the slavery question, unattainable, however, to many Germans, especially in the North. \* \* \* But that the sound sense and judgment of the majority of Texian Germans inclines to neither extreme will, we doubt not, be demonstrated by the ballot box, whenever the slavery question is brought to bear in election.

<sup>59</sup> *N. Y. Weekly Tribune*, May 9, 1857 (*San Antonio Ledger*, June 15, 1857, mentions the circumstance).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

"We Germans are usually rather conservative on questions of practical life, hence our greater attachment to the homestead, our parents, ancestors and customs.

"One can venture to assert that all the Germans in Texas with as rare exceptions as among Americans will repudiate the violent and unlawful means commended and used in the North against slaveholders; but neither can they or any other patriot desire that the estate of the small farmer be supplanted by millions of slaves. North and South, the small farmers are in the majority and form the heart core of the nation. Without them, the democratic character of our nation would be lost. That the self-working husbandman in the good old time of the Roman Republic was so highly esteemed; that ebriety, industry and hard labor, unlike the Greeks, was greatly esteemed: these laid the foundation of the future greatness of that Republic. But when afterwards slave labor became so cheap that not only farming and stock raising, but handicrafts and factories were carried on with slaves, the whole nation, whose frugality was proverbial, soon so degenerated that foreign hirelings had to defend it against exterior enemies; while in the interior, the impudent praetorian soldiery and most shameless abuses ruled supreme.

"Now, our slave holders are not to be looked upon as a species of landed nobility, aristocrats, negro barons and debauching nabobs, but as industrious agriculturists operating on a greater scale. But how different an aspect would the institution of slavery assume, if the favored idea of the ultra Southerners, of every farmer tilling his few acres with a couple of negroes, be realized.

"Looking upon the present conditions of slavery in the Union, as neither a wrong nor an immorality, but a rightfully existing state, yet we cannot but declare the reopening of the slave trade an impossibility, and if possible so fraught with danger to the interests and existence of these United States, and thereby to the civilized world that looks upon us as the model republic of modern times, and the grandest experiment of self-government and national welfare, that all speculations of plantation profit, negro civilization and conversion are nothing to compare to it. \* \* \*

"We can truthfully assert that the mass of the Texian Germans are not opposed to slavery. As early as 1836, the opinion that the Southern States of the United States were a less aristocratic and more republican people than the North, prevailed among the more intelligent and highly cultivated Germans that served in the Texian army.

"I am also convinced that at the cheap price of from \$100 to \$200 for a negro, many a German farmer would procure one or more of those ever ready laborers, and the more so, as now frequently when needed, a laborer cannot be had at \$1 per day. Still I entertain some doubts whether a general introduction of domestic slavery, especially among us Germans, who usually miss that true middle course between severity and over-indulgence, would not

exert a pernicious influence upon the family life of our whites and, in particular, upon the whole bearing of our slave population.

"History is a great teacher and she tells us that not only with the nations of antiquity, but up to the present day in the Orient, domestic slavery was a hot-bed of impertinent impudence and a nursery of sedition. Some few cases excepted, the small farmer can well get along without slaves. Should they not be able to compete with the large plantations in the culture of cotton, which I, however, doubt, as American planters frequently hire German help during the picking season, and as cotton picked by Germans has proved much cleaner, there still remain many branches of industry to the industrious farmer in which he need not fear the competition of black labor—grape culture, sheep raising, tobacco planting, and fruit raising \* \* \* Manufacturies and mines will be opened and we have hundreds of Germans experienced in the arts of weaving manifold woofs, and, as regards miners, it is known to the world that the Germans excel in practice as well as in theory, all other nations, as instanced by the fact that English mines in Mexico and the rich mines of Arizona are worked and superintended by German geologists and mineralogists."<sup>61</sup>

Previously to the election of 1860, the German Democrats of Comal County endorsed the Democratic party, stating that they were opposed to "the Black Republican" party because it was against the Union.<sup>62</sup> In the State election of that year, Comal County went Democratic by a vote of 425 for the Democratic candidates, to ten votes against them; and Gillespie County went Democratic by a vote of 290 for, to 60 against that party.<sup>63</sup> A large number of the population must not have voted at all. These counties had a population of about 4000 and 3000, respectively, at that time.<sup>64</sup> In a letter dated New Braunfels, August 20 of that year, it is stated that nearly every voter is for Breckinridge and Lane.<sup>65</sup> One German newspaper, *Die Union*, of Galveston, however, denounced the Charleston convention and called the Texan delegates "pitiful blockheads."<sup>66</sup> In 1856 the same paper had stated that Congress had no right to interfere with slavery in the territories.<sup>67</sup> This was during the height of the "Know-

<sup>61</sup> Quoted from *New Braunfels Zeitung* in *Southern Intelligencer*, April 6, 1859.

<sup>62</sup> *State Gazette*, March 24, 1860.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, August 25, 1860.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Olmsted for 1856, *supra*.

<sup>65</sup> *State Gazette*, August 25, 1860.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, July 14, 1860.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, October 25, 1856.

Nothing" movement. That movement was dead; the danger of secession was in the air; hence the change.

When the question of secession arose, many of the Germans were strongly opposed and remained firm to the Union. Gustav Schleicher, who later became a member of the House of Representatives, worked hard to keep the State in the Union; but when his State decided to secede he thought it his duty to accept, and when the war broke out he enlisted and became an engineer in the Confederate army. He constructed many forts for the Confederates, notably Fort Sabine.<sup>68</sup> The leading men of Comal County determined to stand by the South. In a convention at New Braunfels, in December, 1860, they averred that "by the election of 'Abe' Lincoln as President of the United States, the institutions of the Southern States of our glorious Confederacy are imperiled;" they demanded that "the Governor of Texas be requested to convene the Legislature at a time as early as practicable, so that the representatives may take action in this most important cause, to call a State Convention," and state that "unless their rights and institutions are duly guaranteed by the North, we assert the right of Texas to resume peaceably or by force all the power she has delegated to the Federal Government, and we recommend the organization of our whole population for the defense of her rights."<sup>69</sup> These resolutions are, however, not an indication of the feeling of the majority of the population. Since the "Know-Nothing" movement, it had been with the Democratic party, now it was for the Union. They voted in favor of secession, many of them, because they feared through opposition to the great majority of the American population, to endanger their own welfare.<sup>70</sup> A German is said to have offered Houston 2000 Germans to break up the Secession Convention.<sup>71</sup> The belief in an early victory for the North prevented many German settlements from taking any decided action. In Gillespie County, in which Fredericksburg was situated, there was a secret organization in behalf of the Union, and it is stated that any member

<sup>68</sup> Koerner, p. 365.

<sup>69</sup> *State Gazette*, December 15, 1860.

<sup>70</sup> Seele, article in *Jahrbuch*, p. 32ff. Seele was secretary of the Comal convention noted, *supra*.

<sup>71</sup> Schem, *Conversations Lexicon*, Vol. VII, p. 694.



who became a traitor would have been shot at sight.<sup>72</sup> The Latin settlement of Sisterdale was entirely on the side of the Union. This resulted in its dissolution.<sup>73</sup> The majority of its members were made up of educated men.<sup>74</sup> They went to Mexico, California, Germany and New York. Comal County furnished three companies for the Confederate army. These were: the company under Captain G. Hofmann, which fought in Sibley's brigade in New Mexico; the company under command of Captain Podawill, which fought in Wood's regiment; and the infantry company under command of J. Boses, which fought in Louisiana.<sup>75</sup> The war encouraged manufacturing in New Braunfels, as many things that were formerly imported were manufactured there.<sup>76</sup>

Some seventy Germans formed a military organization with the object of marching to Mexico and joining from there the Union army. They were met and attacked by a large body of Confederates at the Neuces River, August 10, 1862. Of the seventy, thirty-two were killed; some of the others were taken prisoners and later shot, and only seven escaped.<sup>77</sup> Many Germans were conscripted by the Confederates; hundreds crossed the Rio Grande and later enlisted in the Union army, in which they formed whole cavalry companies in the First Texan Regiment.<sup>78</sup>

During the reconstruction period the Germans joined the Republican party en masse. In the Reconstruction Convention, many were prominent participants; among them Degner, who, in 1869 was chosen to the United States House of Representatives; Knechler, who, the same year, became General Land Commissioner of the State, and Julius Schuetze, who for many years was editor of a leading German paper. In the State Legislature of 1870, three Germans were senators and seven representatives; in that of 1872, five were representatives, and one a senator.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Letter of Rudolf Wipprecht to the *Amerikanisches Magazine*, 1887, dated College Station, Texas, May 10, 1887.

<sup>74</sup> Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, p. 287ff.

<sup>75</sup> Seele in *Jahrbuch für Texas*.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Schem., Vol. VII, p. 694ff.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

(To be Continued.)

# German American Annals

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### GERMANS IN TEXAS.

(Continued.)

By GILBERT G. BENJAMIN, Ph.D.

#### CHAPTER VI.

##### ELEMENTS OF CULTURE.

##### SCHOOLS, NEWSPAPERS, SINGING SOCIETIES AND SOCIETIES FOR INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT, LITERATURE, RELIGION, EXAMPLES OF CULTURED GERMANS.

Even during the earliest days of the German settlements in Texas, the elements which go to make up civilized and cultured communities were introduced. Schools, singing societies, various societies for intellectual improvement, and well edited newspapers were common in those communities which were large enough to warrant their introduction. The fact that so large a portion of the population consisted of men with some claims to culture aided in establishing such institutions. There were probably in the South few communities of like size that could show schools of such a character or newspapers discussing topics of so varied an interest, as the small German communities of Western Texas. The Verein in its program had promised the introduction of schools and the building of churches, at the association's expense, as soon as the population should be large enough to permit such additional expense. The "forty-eighters" introduced a valuable element into the society of Texas. Settlements such as the "Latin Colony" at Sisterdale, and the "Communitistic Colony of Bettina," were comprised almost exclusively of men of

culture. Some of the latter, better known as "Men of the Forties," such as Gustav Schleicher and Doctor Herff, became leaders in the political and intellectual life of the State. Nearly all writers who visited the various communities recognize the exceptional culture of their inhabitants. Kapp found in those districts, far from any thickly populated settlements, and even in those which were in the territory of the Indians, German settlements which had their "Reading Clubs" and "Periodical Clubs," in which they kept abreast with the latest German literature. In many log-houses he found settlers who possessed copies of the German classic poets. In the same communities, the more recent works on economics, history and philosophy were found shortly after their publication.<sup>1</sup> Froebel notes the fact, in reference to Castro's colony, that those German settlements were especially interesting for the civilization which they have brought into the wilderness,<sup>2</sup> a fact which has "struck all Anglo-American travelers."<sup>3</sup>

#### EDUCATION.

As noted above, the Eighth Congress of the Texan Republic incorporated, in 1842, an institution to be known as Hermann University. L. C. Ervendberg, F. Ernst, H. Schmidt, H. Amthor, J. G. Sieper, C. Stoehr, F. W. Huesmann and F. Frank were made the first board of trustees. This institution was to consist of law, medical, theological and philosophical departments. Preparatory schools were to be established in connection with the institution proper. No person could be appointed to any professorship unless he understood both the English and the German languages, unless such qualifications were disregarded by a unanimous vote of the trustees. The institution was not allowed to establish any religious qualification in order to become a trustee, professor, instructor or student. The theological faculty could not be styled by any particular religious denomination. It was to be known as "the Protestant Faculty." A league of public land was set aside for the use of the university.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika*, Pt. II, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Froebel, *Central America*, p. 423.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 948ff.

In August, 1845, shortly after the colony of New Braunfels was established, a school was opened. This, at first, was a private school.<sup>5</sup> The first German pastor, L. C. Ervendberg, kept a private school in which he gave instruction in the Classics.<sup>6</sup> In 1850 Comal County had three schools, with four teachers and 130 pupils; Gillespie County had four schools, with six teachers and 137 pupils; Medina County, two schools, with two teachers and twenty-seven pupils.<sup>7</sup> When Olmsted visited New Braunfels, there were in that town and the surrounding country five free schools for elementary education, one Roman Catholic school, a town free school of higher grade, and a private classical school. In all of the schools English and German were both taught.<sup>8</sup> In 1850 there were in Gillespie County no persons, according to the census of that year, who could not read or write; in Comal County there were thirteen illiterates; and in Medina County, fourteen. That there were so few who could not read or write is accounted for from the fact that there were so few negroes in those counties. In New Braunfels, in the fifties, in the high school, American as well as German teachers were employed. Instruction was given in the classics, natural history and higher mathematics.<sup>9</sup> At San Antonio there was a school, established by German influence, in which there were teachers from Harvard.<sup>10</sup> In 1846 a German school was established at Galveston. It was made an occasion for a celebration, and a description was published<sup>11</sup> in the Northern papers. In 1860 the New Braunfels Academy was incorporated. That city was the first in Texas whose inhabitants supported a public school through public taxation.<sup>12</sup> The provisions of the Texan Constitution, by which cities and towns are authorized to tax themselves for the purpose of schools, was embodied in that document at the suggestion of a citizen of Comal County; and the

<sup>5</sup> *Jahrbuch*, p. 32ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 172.

<sup>7</sup> *Census of 1850*, p. 508.

<sup>8</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 179.

<sup>9</sup> *Cotton Kingdom*, II, p. 103.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Koerner, p. 365.

<sup>12</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1861, p. 191; also Seele, *Short History of Comal County*.

law carrying the provisions into effect was introduced by the representative of that county.<sup>13</sup> At that time New Braunfels had 250 pupils who did not pay any tuition fee.<sup>14</sup> In 1870 Comal County had 157 who could not read or write, out of a population of about 5000;<sup>15</sup> Gillespie, 57 illiterates out of a population of 3500. These two counties were almost exclusively German in population. Austin County, in which the capital of the State was located, at that time had 674 illiterates out of a population of 15,000.<sup>16</sup> These statistics are based on the white population. They do not include the number of negroes. In other words, Austin County, located in the centre of the white population, had almost five per cent. of its white population illiterate, while Comal County, which was further west, only had three per cent., and Gillespie, which was near the western border, had a little over three per cent. It would not be fair to carry this estimate later, as it would be difficult to say how many Americans were in those counties at a later period. In 1871, New Braunfels, with a population of 5000, had in its Academy some four to five hundred students. German and English were both taught. There were some three or four other schools in the town.<sup>17</sup> As late as 1871, there were very few public schools in the various towns of Texas. Private schools were the most common, although there were some free elementary schools. This fact speaks well for the educational condition of New Braunfels when we consider that as early as 1860 it made all of its schools absolutely free, supported by taxation and the school fund of the State. The Germans early established private schools where both English and German were taught. In 1882, nineteen places in Texas, with 84 teachers and 3193 pupils were supported by Germans. These were known as the German-English schools, and were exclusive of the parochial or denominational schools.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Seele, Hermann, *Short History of Comal County*.

<sup>14</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1861, p. 191.

<sup>15</sup> According to *Texas Almanac* for 1871, Comal County had 10,000. If this be true, the percentage of illiterates for 1870 would be decreased considerably in Comal County.

<sup>16</sup> *Census of 1870*.

<sup>17</sup> *Texas Almanac*, 1871, p. 102.

<sup>18</sup> Tenner, Armin, *Amerika, Index—Texas*.

## NEWSPAPERS.

Newspapers were established early in the German communities. • Their character was beyond the ordinary. In 1847, *Die Union* was established at Galveston.<sup>10</sup> During the "Know-Nothing" movement, it was extremely pro-slavery in sentiment. It repudiated the Charleston Convention<sup>20</sup> and was accused of being weak-kneed by the American Democratic press of the State. The *Zeitung*, in San Antonio, was established in 1853,<sup>21</sup> with Dr. Adolf Douai as its first editor. Its character was of a high order. Olmsted says that he found it contained more news of general interest than all the American newspapers in Texas.<sup>22</sup> On November 30, 1852, the *New Braunfels Zeitung* was founded by Dr. Ferdinand Lindheimer.<sup>23</sup> Lindheimer was a strong Democrat. He opposed the Germans, who remained in the majority, loyal to the Union.<sup>24</sup> He often opposed the Confederates and might have been harmed but for his known courage. The character of his editorials has already been described. They showed a grasp on public questions and a knowledge of history which few of the contemporary papers of the country could have furnished. In 1904 there were twenty-nine newspapers published in Texas.<sup>25</sup> These were:

Austin, *Texas Vorwärts*, 21st year of publication, weekly.

Austin, *Schuetzes Monatsbuch für Texas*, 1st year of publication, monthly (discontinued with death of the publisher in 1905).

Belleville, *Wochenblatt*, 14th year, weekly.

Brenham, *Volksbote*, 31st year, weekly.

" *Lutherischer Gemeindebote für Texas*, 13th year, semi-monthly.

Cuero, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 13th year, semi-weekly.

Dallas, *Feld und Flur*, 6th year, monthly.

" *Nord Texas Presse*, 13th year, semi-weekly.

Fredericksburg, *Deutsch-Texanische Monatshefte*, 9th year, monthly.

<sup>10</sup> Wooten, B. G., *Comprehensive History of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 392.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. article in *Austin Gazette*, July 4, 1860.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 132ff.

<sup>23</sup> Koerner, p. 364.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Monatsbuch für Texas*, Austin, September, 1904.

- Fort Worth, *Anzeiger*, 15th year, weekly.  
 Gainesville, *Anzeiger*, 9th year, weekly.  
 Galveston, *Die Galveston Post*, 2d year, weekly.  
 Giddings, *Deutsche Wochenblatt*, 5th year, weekly.  
 Gonzales, *Der Herold*, 1st year, weekly.  
 Hallettsville, *Lavacca County Nachrichten*, 9th year, weekly.  
 Houston, *Texas Deutsche Zeitung*, 31st year, weekly.  
 La Grange, *Deutsche Zeitung*, 15th year.  
 New Braunfels, *Zeitung*, 52d year, weekly.  
 Rosebud, *Central Texas Volksblatt Zeitung*, 4th year.  
 San Antonio, *Freie Presse für Texas*, 40th year, daily and weekly.  
 San Antonio, *Katholische Rundschau*, 7th year, weekly.  
 " " *Texas Banner*, 1st year, weekly.  
 " " *Texas Staatszeitung*, 14th year, weekly.  
 Seguin, *Zeitung*, 14th year, weekly.  
 Shiner, *Shiner Rundschau*, 4th year, weekly.  
 Shovel Mount, *Der Hermann Sohn in Texas*, monthly.  
 Taylor, *Herold*, 10th year, weekly.  
 Victoria, *Deutsche Zeitung für Texas*, 22d year, weekly.  
 Waco, *Post*, 13th year, weekly.

There are few States in the Union which have so many and so well edited German newspapers.

#### SOCIETIES.

The Germans had many clubs and societies, which exerted a decided cultural influence. When Olmsted visited New Braunfels, there were an Agricultural Society, a Mechanics' Institute, a Society for Political Debates, a Harmonic Society, and a Turner Society. A horticultural club had expended \$1200 in one year in introducing trees and plants.<sup>26</sup> Olmsted says regarding these societies that they were "the evidence of an active intellectual life and desire for knowledge and improvement among the masses of the people, like that which distinguishes the New Englanders, and is unknown wherever slavery degrades labor."<sup>27</sup> In 1845, the first year of the settlement, a singing club was organized at New Braunfels, and one of the first songs sung was composed by Prince Solms-Braunfels.<sup>28</sup> During the same year, a

<sup>26</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 179.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *San Antonio Express*, October 4, 1903.

male quartet was formed and, during the evenings, singing was indulged in by the entire settlement.<sup>29</sup> In 1847 New Braunfels had a good band.<sup>30</sup> On March 2, 1850, at that place, was formed the "Gesangverein Germania," with G. T. Peckmecky as its first director. Under its auspices the first public holiday was celebrated at New Braunfels.<sup>31</sup> At Fredericksburg, which was founded in 1846, a male quartet was formed in 1850. This was the nucleus of the later Gesangverein. Among those who were members of this society were: Frank Van der Stucken, the father of the later composer of the same name, and Dr. A. Siemering, later founder and editor of the *San Antonio Express*. The members of the various societies formed a dramatic club under whose auspices Schiller's *Wallenstein* and Wagner's *Tannhäuser* were produced in the early fifties.<sup>32</sup> At Austin the "Maennerchor" was formed in 1853.<sup>33</sup> The "Germania" at New Braunfels was the nucleus for similar organizations throughout Western Texas. Its meetings were held in an open-air pavilion on the Guadalupe River. On July 4, 1853, that society entertained singers from San Antonio and Austin, and it was then determined to call a meeting to organize a Sängerbund in Western Texas. A call was sent out accordingly, and on October 15-16, 1853, a Saengerfest was held at New Braunfels in which societies from Austin, San Antonio, Sisterdale and New Braunfels participated.<sup>34</sup> During the festival, a Verein was established which had for its purpose a union of all the singing societies in Texas.<sup>35</sup> The Saengerfeste were occasions also for expressions of political ideas. At this meeting, the representatives of the German counties in the Legislature were requested to prevent the passage of any law by which the German language should be prohibited from being taught in the public schools.<sup>36</sup> The Saengerfest held at San Antonio in

<sup>29</sup> *Jahrbuch für Texas*, p. 32ff.

<sup>30</sup> Bracht, p. 115.

<sup>31</sup> Seele, *Jahrbuch für Texas*, p. 32ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 78.

<sup>33</sup> Letter of Julius Scheutze, February 12, 1904.

<sup>34</sup> *San Antonio Express*, October 4, 1903.

<sup>35</sup> *Jahrbuch für Texas*, article by Seele, p. 42.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*



May, 1854, has been previously described. During that year a dramatic society was formed at New Braunfels.<sup>37</sup> In May, 1855, the third Saengerfest was held at New Braunfels. The societies of that city, Austin, Indianola, Columbus, La Grange, Sisterdale and San Antonio were participants. The dramatic society at New Braunfels gave a play during the Saengerfest. Saengerfeste were held from that time on until the war.<sup>38</sup> After the war, the Saengerbund was revived and is still active. It holds a festival every two years, at which the various singing societies of the State are present.<sup>39</sup> This organization was divided into smaller associations, so that the smaller settlements get the benefit from the meeting of the singing societies. In October, 1881, the "Gebirgssaengerbund von West Texas" was founded in the small settlement of Boerne, which was founded in 1852. During the Saengerfest held at that time, the following societies participated: "Concordia," from Fredericksburg; "Walhalla," from Comal County; "Echo," from Anhalt; "Liedertafel," from Comfort; "Concordia," from Kerrville; "Maennerchor," from Aufnau; "Gesangverein" and "Gemischte Chor," from Boerne. The program consisted of some nineteen numbers. Three male choruses sang the *Bundeslied* from Mozart; the *Jaegers Abschied*, from Mendelssohn and the *Vaterlandslied*, from Marschner. These different societies held their meetings in their various settlements under difficult conditions. The majority of the members came from the country districts and, in order to attend the various meetings during the year, had to travel ten to fifteen miles and return. All those taking part in the Saengerfest were descendants of old settlers. There were no professional musicians among them.<sup>40</sup> In October, 1903, the fiftieth anniversary of the German Texan Saengerbund was celebrated at New Braunfels. Judge Julius Schuetze, who was one of the founders of the original Saengerfest, was present on this occasion and delivered the oration. At the original meeting in New Braunfels in

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Letter of Julius Schuetze, founder of Texan Saengerfest, February 12, 1904.

<sup>40</sup> *Deutsche Pionier*, Vol. XIII, No. 9, p. 368.

1853, he travelled eighty miles on horseback in order to attend.<sup>41</sup> Some 6000 to 7500 Germans were present at this reunion. San Antonio societies, consisting of the "Beethoven Maennerchor," the "Liederkrantz," and the "San Antonio Maennerchor;" the Houston "Saengerbund," Austin "Saengerbund," the La Grange society, "Die Froesch;" besides societies from New Braunfels and other German settlements, participated.<sup>42</sup> On February 10, 1904, the Austin "Saengerrunde" celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary.<sup>43</sup>

The May festivals which are so common in Texas have been attributed to the influence of the Germans. Siemering states that in the early eighties there was a veritable mania in Texas for "Maifeste;" that every German settlement, however small, had its annual celebration.<sup>44</sup>

During the fifties, in San Antonio, the Germans constructed a building for the common meeting place. In this were held the meetings of the singing societies and the dramatic associations. These societies did as much as any one thing to draw the German and American elements together. The "German Society" which constructed this building came to be "considered a central point of life" in that city.<sup>45</sup>

That these various associations of the Germans, their singing societies and dramatic clubs, which often produce some of the compositions of the best dramatists and composers, especially in the small settlements at a distance from the large cities, have and are exerting an important cultural influence, is quite evident.

#### LITERATURE.

The Germans in Texas have produced a literature, some of which, at least, is more than of an ephemeral value. Many of the German newspapers were edited by men of unusual culture. Siemering was not only the founder in San Antonio of the *Freie*

<sup>41</sup> Letter of Schuetze, *supra*.

<sup>42</sup> *San Antonio Express*, October 5, 1903.

<sup>43</sup> Letter of Schuetze, *supra*.

<sup>44</sup> Article by Siemering, *Deutsche Pionier*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, p. 79.

<sup>45</sup> *San Antonio Ledger*, February 27, 1858.

*Presse*, but also of an American paper, *The Express*. He has published a novel dealing with the experiences of the Germans during the Civil War. The story is based on actual characters and experiences of the Germans during that period. It was called *Ein Verlebtes Leben*.<sup>46</sup>

On February 14, 1882, there died a former member of the "Adelscolonie," Albert von Halfern, who had been a prolific writer. He had been a captain of Texas "Rangers" in the Mexican War and was for many years a captain in the United States army. He was the author of stories treating of his experiences among the Indians and of his army life. Among his works were: *Der Letzte der Seminolen*, scenes from the wars of the Indians of Florida with the whites; *Der Squire, Ein Bild aus den Hinterwäldern Amerikas*, Hamburg, 1857; and *Das Leben der Indianer Nordamerikas*, Leipzig, 1863, which was his chief work.<sup>47</sup>

Much poetry has been produced by the Germans, although most of it is only of a transitory nature. L. F. La Frenz, the editor of *Deutsch Texanische Monatshefte*, of San Antonio, has written many poems. His best known poem is *Am Neuces*, celebrating the occasion on which the German Union troops, in 1862, were attacked by a body of Confederates. One stanza reads as follows:

"Vergessen sind des Krieges Greu'l, es ruft  
 'Treu der Union!' dem Norden gleich der Süden,  
 In Sonnenstrahl und Blumen prangt die Gruft,  
 Und über ihr, versöhnend, schwebt der Frieden."

His poem written in honor of the semi-centennial of Comfort, Texas, contains verses which are real lyrics.<sup>48</sup> The following description of pioneer life is an example of his style:

"Und mit frischen, mut'gen Streben  
 Geht es an die Arbeit nun,  
 Dass sich Häuser bald erheben,  
 Hat ein jeder flink zu tun."

<sup>46</sup> A. Siemering, *Ein Verlebtes Leben*, San Antonio, 1876.

<sup>47</sup> *Deutsche Pioneer*, Vol. XIV, No. 5, p. 197.

<sup>48</sup> Lohmann, F. H., *Comfort*.

Die Zypresse, sie muss fallen,  
Dass die Schindel deckt das Haus,  
Und die deutschen Lieder schallen  
Fröhlich in den Wald hinaus.  
Möge euch das Werk gelingen,  
Wack're Kämpfer der Kultur,  
Die hier ihren Segen bringen,  
In die wilde Urnatur."

The following is an example of his patriotic verse:

"Schlaft sanft, im Schatten eurer Eichen,  
Ihr Schläfer, nach der blut'gen Schlacht,  
Auf eurem Grab als Siegeszeichen  
Erglänzt der Friedenspalme Pracht.

"Vorbei der Kampf! Vorbei die Rachel!  
Das Sternenbanner hat gesiegt!  
Und die ihr fielt in heil'ger Sache,  
Nun auch in seinem Schatten liegt.

"Um Einheit habt ihr ja vergossen,  
Das Blut, das schmerzlich wir beweint,  
Doch nicht umsonst ist es geflossen,  
Seht! Nord und Süden steh'n vereint."

Goldbeck, in his work *Seit fünfzig Jahren, Prosa in Versen*, has one or two good poems. The rest, written to describe the early life of the colonists during the critical years from 1845 to 1846, are made for the occasion. The following reminds one somewhat of Goethe's *Kennt Ihr das Land*, etc.:

"Kennt ihr im fernen Süden  
Das schöne Präirieland?  
Es dehnet seine Fluren  
Bis weit zum Rio Grand!"

"Hier blüht und duftet prächtig  
Der wilde Blumenflor,  
Wo aus den hohen Gräsern,  
Schaut keck der Hirsch hervor."

"Der Präiriehahn, der feiste  
Ruft laut sein Volk herbei,  
Vornehmlich in der frühe  
Ertönt sein Lockgeschrei.

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\* For the above, Cf. *Mgebroff*, p. 8ff.

"Die ungezählten Heerden  
Der Farmer weiden hier,  
Man hört't der Rinder Brüllen,  
Der Rosse hell Gewich'r."

"'Fata Morgana' täuscht,  
Den Wanderer oftmals sehr,  
Jetzt taucht ein dunk'les Wäldchen,  
Dort aus dem Gräsermeer."

Conrad Nies, the German-American poet, lived for a time in Texas, and has written several poems describing life in that State in his work, *Aus westlichen Weiten*. Although he cannot be called a Texan-German poet, the life among the Germans in that State has inspired him to some of his best lyrics. His poems, *Unter Texanischer Sonne* and *Texanischer Ostertag*, show merit. He has also written a poem dealing with the early Germans in Texas, entitled *Industry*. From *Unter Texanische Sonne*, we quote the following:

"Texanischer Frühling durch's Bergland ging,  
Ein Wehen und Werben den Wald umfing.  
Dem deutschen Siedler ritt ich zur Seit'  
Durch die weite, blühende Einsamkeit.

"Er hatte einst drüben das Schwert geführt,  
Eh' texanischen Grund sein Fuss berührt;  
Noch hatte das Tagwerk des Rangers nicht  
Den Adel geraubt dem Rassengesicht.

"In seinem Auge, das blau und tief,  
Ein Abglanz versunk'ner Sonnen schief,  
Aus Stirn und Nacken, gebräunt und breit,  
Sprach unverwüstliche Vornehmheit."

Many of the poems of the Germans have been contributed for special occasions, and so have little spontaneity; but even in these will be found occasional verses of a high order.

#### RELIGION.

In religion, the majority of the German settlements were Lutheran, although there were many German Catholics in Texas. Hermann University, the college founded by the early Germans, was to be Protestant in its religious character. The earliest Ger-

man minister in Texas was Louis C. Ervendberg. He came to Houston, Texas, from Illinois, in 1839 and in that city established the first German Protestant Society which had 30 members and 58 who attended. From here, he founded societies at Industry with 19 members; at Cat Spring, with 29; at Biegeland, with 12; at La Grange, with 6; and at Columbus, with 6 members. Dr. Joseph A. Fischer, a professor of theology from Switzerland, was associated with him. The Verein, in its program, had promised that churches would be established under its auspices, and when Solms Braunfels landed in Texas with the first colonists, he invited Ervendberg to become their pastor. The latter came to Indian Point Christmas, 1844, and when New Braunfels was founded, he became the pastor there. In October, 1845, a German Protestant society was established, and in March, 1846, a church was built. Ervendberg remained the pastor there for a number of years. Both Roemer and Olmsted speak of his simple but beautiful character.<sup>50</sup> During the days of 1846-7, when so many immigrants lost their lives, he established in New Braunfels an orphan asylum. He collected sixty of the children of immigrants and supported them by farming. During Olmsted's visit, he had still eighteen under his charge.<sup>51</sup> In 1847 the Verein established a church in Fredericksburg. Services were held in it by Catholics and Protestants alike. According to Roemer, there were two Catholic churches during the forties in Texas, those at Galveston and San Antonio. The Catholics in Texas were in charge of Bishop Odin. Roemer describes him as living in the simple manner of the Apostles.<sup>52</sup> He was respected by Protestants as well as by his own people. He ministered alike to both.

With the Revolution of 1848, a new element was introduced into the German population. It brought with it the radical tendencies then prevalent in Germany. The San Antonio Convention of May, 1854, is an example of the ideas of this new element. It was radical and rationalistic in character. Kapp, Olm-

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Roemer, p. 120; Olmsted, *Texas Journeys*, p. 172.

<sup>51</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 172.

<sup>52</sup> Roemer, p. 237.

sted and Mgebroff mention the rationalistic tendencies of the German population. Olmstead says:

"The virtues I have ascribed to them as a class, are not, however, without the relief of faults, the most prominent of which are a free thinking and a devotion to reason, carried, in their turn, to the verge of bigotry."<sup>53</sup>

On November 1, 1841, at Industry, the German Protestant churches united and formed "The United Christian Churches of Germans in Texas and the United States." A constitution was drawn up and articles of belief, which were to be common to all, were adopted. Among these were the following: that the Holy Scriptures and the Apostolic symbols should be accepted by all; that no single belief should be considered superior, only the essentials of Christianity should be deemed necessary; a synod was to be formed, in which two ministers and two lay members, together with a president, should be a standing committee to carry on business; there should be a general synod, and a synod in each county or large division of land; this synod was to have power to decide all differences of belief or worship; the ministers of the various German churches bound themselves to perform ministerial services for all Germans. This constitution was signed by Dr. Joseph A. Fischer as President of the Synod and by Ervendberg as Secretary.<sup>54</sup>

There were in 1902, among the German Lutheran churches in Texas, 12,221 communicants, and they possessed property, valued at \$102,100.<sup>55</sup> There were in 1892 1,791 German Catholic families in Texas.<sup>56</sup> If we reckon three members to each family, there would be some 5,000 German Catholics in that State. The earliest German Catholic Church was that at Castroville, established in 1847.<sup>57</sup> The majority of Castro's settlements were Catholic.

<sup>53</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 430.

<sup>54</sup> Kordül, p. 101ff.

<sup>55</sup> Mgebroff, p. 328ff.

<sup>56</sup> Enzlberger, Johannes, *Catholische Gristlichkeit der deutschen Zunge in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Appendix). Milwaukee, 1892.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

## EXAMPLES OF CULTURED GERMANS.

There are two men who deserve special mention as examples of culture among the Germans of Texas. These are Gustav Schleicher and Frank van der Stucken. The former was born at Darmstadt, Germany, November 19, 1823. He studied civil engineering at Giessen. He helped build the railroad connecting the cities of Heidelberg and Frankfurt-on-the-Main. He emigrated to Texas in 1847, in company with thirty-nine young and educated Germans, and settled on the Western frontier. He was one of the leading spirits in the "Communist Colony of Bettina," better known as the "Colony of Forty" or the "Darmstaedter Kolonie." This colony soon disbanded, and in 1850, Schleicher settled in San Antonio. He became a student of the English and Spanish languages, and in 1853, was elected to the Texan House of Representatives. In 1859, he was elected as Senator from Bexar County, and served until 1861, when he entered the Confederate army as captain in the engineer corps, in which service he remained until the close of the war. After the war, he practiced engineering and was entrusted with the construction of the road from Victoria to Cuero by the Gulf and Western Texas Railroad Company. In 1874 he was elected to the Forty-fourth Congress, re-elected to the Forty-fifth and again to the Forty-sixth. He died in Washington, January 10, 1879. His colleagues recognized him as a man of unusual ability, of sterling character, and a deep student of political affairs. James A. Garfield, who was a colleague of Schleicher's in the House, declared that he had "the habit of close, earnest, hard work," and "possessed and exhibited a noteworthy independence of character." Former Secretary of State Bayard, at that time a member of the Senate, said that Schleicher gave "abundant evidence of his capacity thoroughly to examine public questions with the eye of a statesman, the labors of a scholar, and the honesty of a patriot." Bayard further states that many persons had often said to him that Schleicher would have made an admirable Cabinet officer.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> For biographical notices of Schleicher, cf. *Memorial Addresses*; also Koerner, p. 365ff.



The latter of these two men, Frank van der Stucken, had his career in an entirely different field of activity. He was born at Fredericksburg, Gillespie County, Texas, October 15, 1858, and was the oldest son of Frank van der Stucken, a storekeeper of that place. From 1866 to 1884, he studied in Europe. Among his teachers was Benoit, of the Conservatory of Music at Antwerp. During 1877-79 he studied at Leipzig and came into relationship with Edvard Grieg and Karl Reinecke. In 1881, he became Kapellmeister of the Stadt Theater at Breslau and while there conducted his own composition, the music for Shakespeare's *Tempest*. During the summer of 1883, he lived with Edvard Grieg at Rudolstadt, and there came to know Franz Liszt. During the same year, he was invited to become the director of the singing society "Arion" of New York, with which, some years later he made a journey through Europe. Since 1895, he has been the conductor of the Symphony Orchestra of Cincinnati. He has been a frequent composer of music, and as a musical director, he has been compared with Thomas, Seidl and Damrosch.<sup>59</sup>

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## CHAPTER VII.

### RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS.

#### BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SMALLER GERMAN SETTLEMENTS.

In 1846 the United States Government signed a treaty with the Indians in Texas. By this treaty the United States was to have the sole right to regulate trade with the Indians; no traders were to be permitted among them without special permission; the Indian chiefs acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the Government of the United States; trading posts and schools were to be established; and presents to the amount of

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<sup>59</sup> For biographical notice, cf. *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 179; also *Who's Who in America*, 1906.

\$10,000 were to be distributed among the Indians.<sup>1</sup> In 1847, Congress appropriated \$20,000 to carry this treaty into effect and a special agent and two interpreters were to be sent to the Indians.<sup>2</sup>

As for the Germans, they had from their earliest settlement in Western Texas friendly relations with the Indians. Solms Braunsfels, soon after purchasing the land for the settlement of New Braunfels, made a treaty with the Lipans in order that that territory might be settled.<sup>3</sup> When the Germans made their settlement at Fredericksburg in 1846, the Indians furnished them with food, and later a lucrative trade arose between the two.<sup>4</sup> The Indians preferred the Germans to the Americans, because the former settled in towns and villages and did not scatter over the country and kill the game, as the latter did.<sup>5</sup>

In order to settle the territory obtained by the Fischer and Miller grants, Meusebach determined to visit the Indians and make a treaty with them. The Texan Government refused to aid the Germans in any way in their relations with the Indians. Meusebach sent one of his officials, with twenty companions, to visit the territory of the Indians. This official brought back the news that there were from 40,000 to 60,000 Indians between the Llano and the San Saba.<sup>6</sup> Meusebach, therefore, determined to visit the Indian country himself, and by January 22, 1847, all arrangements were completed for the journey. The company consisted of a troop of cavalry, many volunteers and forty-one American surveyors. Later, the company was joined by Major Neighbors, the Indian Agent of the United States Government, and an Indian interpreter, "Jim Shaw." On

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<sup>1</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 9, p. 844ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Seele, *History of Camal County*.

<sup>4</sup> *Texas Journeys*, p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, May 10, 1847.

<sup>6</sup> This account is based on one by two German officers who accompanied Meusebach on his journey into the Indian country. It will be found in *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, 1847, p. 402ff; and also in *Fest-Ausgabe*, p. 86ff; also an account by Roemer, p. 283ff. Roemer accompanied Meusebach, and in his book publishes a diary of the journey. Soergel, *Neueste Nachrichten*, p. 113ff, has also an account of Meusebach's relations with the Indians.

February 7, they came upon the Indian camp. Meusebach's men threw their weapons away as they were asked by the Indians to do and pitched their camp across the river from them. Many of the Indians, however, camped with them. Major Neighbors appeared and forbade Meusebach from making any treaty with the Indians and ordered him to turn back. This Meusebach refused to do, but permitted the Indian Agent to accompany him. During the same month, they met with Santa Anna, the great Chieftain of the Comanches. On March 1, 1847, a treaty was discussed between the Indians and the Germans. Santa Anna, Buffalo Hump and many of the leading chiefs took part in the councils. By the treaty, the Comanches promised the Germans that they could settle in the Indian country; and said that they would protect them from horse stealing and from other tribes; that they would permit the land to be surveyed by the Germans, and the boundaries between the Germans and the Comanches were to be specified later; the Germans promised the Indians succor in the German settlements. The treaty was to be ratified at a council to be held later at Fredericksburg, and a thousand dollars was to be paid in presents to the Indians. In his speech to the Indians, Meusebach went even so far as to say that the two races might intermarry.<sup>7</sup>

On May 10, 1847, the council was to be held at Fredericksburg, where proposals were again to be made to the Indians.<sup>8</sup> The treaty was ratified at a meeting early in June of that year. The Indians agreed to permit the German colonists to survey the land and form any settlements that they might desire, reserving for themselves the right to hunt within the limits of the territory. Several hundred dollars' worth of presents were distributed among the Indians and it was agreed that two thousand dollars in presents were to be given to the chiefs.<sup>9</sup> The Comanches, according to agreement, permitted the Germans to survey the territory and became very friendly disposed toward

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<sup>7</sup> The speeches and treaty are given in full in *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, 1847.

<sup>8</sup> *Houston Telegraph*, May 10, 1847.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, June 7, 1847.

them.<sup>10</sup> The *Houston Telegraph* states, September 6, 1847, that the Indians had in no way molested the Germans at Fredericksburg. Later, the Darmstaedter Colony and numerous small settlements were established among the Indians without any interference by them. The Germans, moreover, gained a very lucrative trade with them, and friendly relations seemed to be firmly established between the two races.<sup>11</sup> Spies, who was successor to Meusebach, declared that the Germans had spent \$10,000 in cash from the Verein's funds in order to keep the friendship between the Germans and the Indians.<sup>12</sup> During the late fifties, the Indians made several incursions into the territory of the Germans near Fredericksburg. At the time of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the settlement of New Braunsfels, however, it was stated that that town had not been troubled for fifteen years by Indians.<sup>14</sup>

#### BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SMALLER GERMAN SETTLEMENTS.

A few of the smaller German settlements should have at least passing notice. The settlements, founded by Henri Castro, a former soldier in the armies of Napoleon, were mainly French, although there were many Germans among them.<sup>15</sup> Castro received, in 1842, from the Republic of Texas, two grants of land, one of which was never settled. The other, west of San Antonio, including that portion of the country, now comprising part of Medina, Uvalde, Frio, Atascoso, Bexar, McMullen, La Salle and Zuval Counties, was settled.

In February, 1843, when Castro brought his first colonists to the City of San Antonio, no settlement existed west of the San Pedro Creek as far as the Rio Grande.

Castro published in Europe, under his own name and that

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, June 14, 1847.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Account in *Fest Ausgabe*, p. 119.

<sup>12</sup> Letter of Spies, *Ibid.*, October 28, 1847.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Accounts Texas State Gazette*, September 22, September 29, and October 6, 1855.

<sup>14</sup> *Deutsche Pionier*, Vol. I, p. 282.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Koerner, p. 359; also *Texas Journeys*, p. 276ff; also *Texas State Gazette*, September 6, 1856; Mgebroff, p. 3ff; Froebel, p. 423ff; Bracht, p. 149ff.

of others, several pamphlets which caused Texas to become well known throughout France, Germany and Switzerland. Some of these pamphlets were *Coup d'Oeil sur Texas*, signed by Henri Fournel, published in Paris, 1841; *Documents on Foreign Commerce*, published by the Minister of Commerce in France; *Texas in 1845*, by Henry Castro, and *The State of Texas*, published at Antwerp in 1846. Many of these were translated into German.

Castro brought over to Texas from 1842 to 1847, 5,200 persons in twenty-seven ships.<sup>16</sup>

He left San Antonio, September 1, 1844, at the head of his colonists and established his first settlement on the Medina river, twenty-five miles west of San Antonio. This settlement was named Castroville. To-day, it is the county seat of Medina County. In 1845, an agent of Castro's founded the town of Quihi, ten miles from Castroville; and in 1846, Castro founded Vandenberg, seven miles from Quihi. In 1847, the town of Dhanis was laid out twenty-five miles still further west. These towns were, in 1871, in a flourishing condition. Castro planned to found two more towns and to surround his grant with villages. In order to establish his colonies, he had to surmount many difficulties. In 1844, he had to pay for transportation \$3.50 per hundred pounds; he had to furnish the immigrants on their arrival, and for the first year, with provisions and with agricultural implements, seeds and animals.

The only advantages that Castro derived was the right of retaining one-half of the land assigned to each settler of his colonies. By the law of 1850, entitled, "An Act to Perfect Land Titles in Castro's Colony," which was approved January 22, 1860, the certificates were issued directly to the colonists, and Castro lost his land and received nothing for the services he had rendered to Texas, and for colonizing the territory west of San Antonio.

Most of the colonists came from the French Departments

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<sup>16</sup>This account is based on Castro, Henri, *Texas Answers*, 1845; and Castro, Lorenzo, *Immigration from Alsace and Lorraine*, New York, 1871. In the latter work, the names of the ships and the dates of passage are given.

of High and Low Rhin, Meurthe, Moselle, Doubs and Jura; or from Alsace and Lorraine and Franche Comté.<sup>17</sup>

During the Civil War these settlements remained loyal to the Union. A majority of the population was Catholic.

#### THE COMMUNISTIC COLONY OF BETTINA.

In 1846, a colony was organized in Darmstadt, which was socialistic in its tendencies. It received its name from Bettina von Arnim, the German writer and friend of Goethe. The leaders of the plan to form a communistic settlement were Spies, the successor of Meusebach as Commissioner General of the Mainzerverein, and Dr. Ferdinand Herff. On his return to Germany, Solms Braunsfels delivered many speeches. These, together with his writings, as well as those of Spies, had a great influence over the students of Giessen and Heidelberg. One of the future members of the colony heard Solms speak and declares that the latter described Texas as a "land of milk and honey, of perennial flowers, of crystal streams rich and fruitful beyond measure, where roamed myriads of deer and buffalo, while the primeval forests abounded in wild fowl of every kind."<sup>18</sup> Solms further declared in a speech delivered to a school in Darmstadt, that there was no demand in the Old Country for all the professional men whom the universities were turning out, and that they must find a new and developing country where their services would be in demand.

Gustav Schleicher, at that time a civil engineer, became one of the members of the colony. There were some forty young men who participated in its organization. Its watchwords were friendship, freedom and equality. The majority of those taking part in the enterprise was composed of educated young men. There were in the undertaking two physicians, one engineer, one architect, seven lawyers, four foresters, one student of theology and a lieutenant of artillery. The rest were mainly farmers and mechanics.

<sup>17</sup> Castro, Henri, *Le Texas Anvers*, 1845, gives Castro's own account of the settlements.

<sup>18</sup> *Texas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 34.

The first colonists landed in New York in 1846; from there they went via railroad to Wheeling (West Virginia); from there, via stage to New Orleans and thence via water to Galveston. They landed at Indianola in 1847 and reached New Braunfels in August of that year. Meusebach had already made his treaty with the Indians and the new colony was established in the Fischer and Miller grant west of Fredericksburg. The members engaged in stock raising and agriculture, and the venture, on account of its lack of government, and because of Mexican and Indian depredations, became a failure.<sup>19</sup>

#### GERMAN-SWISS COLONIES IN TEXAS.

German-Swiss colonies are found in the cities of Dallas, San Antonio, Galveston and Houston. The first German-Swiss to settle in any numbers came to Texas in 1855, and became members of Victor Considerant's Communistic Colony, near Dallas, Texas, which was founded in Paris in 1852. This colony was given up on account of its debts. In 1868 and in 1872, two colonies of Swiss were settled near Dallas. In 1880, there were two hundred Swiss in that city. They had a Gesangverein, a Turnverein and during that year held a "Mai-Fest." In 1888, there was a colony of 160 Swiss in Houston. It also had its special societies. A colony of Swiss was founded on the Guadalupe river by capitalists of Basle. The colony of New Baden, Texas, contained several German-Swiss. Mrs. Louisa Storer, formerly the wife of Friedrich Ernst, one of the first Germans to settle in Texas, was a Swiss.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> This account is based on an article, The Communistic Colony of Bettina, in Vol. III, p. 33ff, of *Texas Hist. Quarterly*; on *Memorial Addresses*; and on account by Doctor Herff in *Collier, Hist. of San Antonio*; and on an article in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 3, 1847, No. 62.

<sup>20</sup> This is based on Steinach, Alderich, Dr., *Geschichte und Leben der schweizer Kolonien in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika*, New York, 1889.

(To be Continued.)

## THE COMMUNITY AT BETHEL, MISSOURI, AND ITS OFFSPRING AT AURORA, OREGON.

WILLIAM G. BEK, Ph. D.

THE last decades of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries were marked by concentrated action on the part of various organizations to establish communistic settlements. A great many of these attempts were made in the United States. The Shakers, the Harmonists, the Separatists of Zoar, the Perfectionists, the Communities of Robert Owen, and Brook Farm are but a few of the leading communistic attempts of this period. In a number of these, unique, religious principles obtained and formed the bond of union among its members. Others again were held together by constitutional agreement for the sole purpose of economic betterment. Still others had for their aim the communion of high-minded and highly intellectual individuals who sought the association of kindred minds and who under the idyllic conditions of communal life hoped for an amelioration of conditions intellectual and spiritual.

Among the minor communities are classed the one at Bethel, Missouri, and its offspring at Aurora, Oregon. In some respects these societies are unique. The one at Bethel, Missouri, existed from 1844 to its close, in 1879, without the semblance of a constitutional agreement, while the branch at Aurora, Oregon, existed from 1857 to 1879 and only during the last few years of its existence had a written compact. They had no peculiar dress nor singular customs. The sole bond of union may be said to have centered in the magnetic power and the dogmatic will of their leader. This is as applicable to Aurora, where a form of constitutional agreement existed during the last years of its life, as it is to the society at Bethel, where no constitutional agreement was in effect. In a measure it may be said that the society was brought into existence to carry out the whim of its founder. However,



many persons joined because they believed to foresee an immediate betterment of their economic conditions. The constituency of these two bodies was made up for the greater part of Germans, who either came directly from the Fatherland or who had already become naturalized in the various parts of the United States. Nordhoff in his work, "Communitic Societies in the United States," p. 319, says that several Protestant sects were represented, that there was even a Jew, but no Roman Catholics.<sup>1</sup>

Since the community at Bethel is the mother community, I shall discuss its origin and growth first.

The site of the Bethel Colony was on North River, in Shelby County, Missouri, forty-eight miles from Hannibal. Its organization took place in 1844 and the body remained intact until 1879, or immediately after the death of its founder, Dr. William Keil. Soon after the settlement was established in Shelby County, 3536 acres of land were purchased or entered near the present site of Bethel. This town became the center of activity. Other groups of houses near Bethel received the names of Elim, Hebron, and Mamri. In Adair County, not far from Kirksville, 731 acres of land were acquired and the town there established received the name of Nineveh.<sup>2</sup> In 1855, for reasons hereafter to be discussed, it was decided to divide the society, a large number of its members following Dr. Keil to Washington Territory, and later to Oregon Territory. Thus a unique condition in communitic life came about, in that two bodies of people, so far separated as the State of Missouri and the Territory of Oregon could be controlled by one head, at a time when communication was slow and difficult, and all this, too, with a body that was not held together by any written agreement. As I stated previously, the singularly powerful will of Keil was the force that held this society intact. When this force disappeared in Keil's death and

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<sup>1</sup> This statement of Nordhoff's applies directly to the Aurora, Oregon, Settlement, which was the daughter colony of the Bethel, Missouri, colony, as will be discussed in detail later on. But all of the members at Aurora had been members at Bethel or were their direct descendants, hence the statement may be regarded as applicable to the Missouri Community also. Moreover the statement of Nordhoff was confirmed by surviving members of the society at Bethel.

<sup>2</sup> Now it is called Connelssville.

no successor appeared who was strong enough to rule, the natural result was a dissolution of the organization, and a division of the acquired property. The dissolution, in itself, is strikingly interesting, in that it was effected in the simplest manner possible and with but very little friction.

Since the whole life of the society—as was already pointed out—was concentrated in the iron, indomitable will of William Keil, it will be necessary to preface the more detailed account of this study by a consideration of his life and activity. I base my account of Keil's life on: 1. a mass of letters written by himself to members of the society at Bethel; 2. statements of trustworthy persons at Bethel, Missouri, and Aurora, Oregon—not only of those who praise Keil, but also of those who defame him; and 3. brief accounts found in the various histories of communistic life in this country, but especially on the account of the early years of Keil's life as found in a rare and odd book by a clergyman, Carl G. Koch, who at one time was an adherent to Keil's views. This work is entitled, "*Lebenserfahrungen*," and was printed 1871 in Cleveland, Ohio, in the *Verlagshaus der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft*.

Of Keil's early life we have no further record than that he was born on the sixth of March, 1811, in Bleicherode, District of Erfurt, Prussia. His parents were German and seem to have been of the middle class.<sup>2</sup> It goes without saying that he must have attended schools of his town, but there is no record of his attending a technical school or a university. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether he was legally entitled to the title of doctor, although he is said to have practiced medicine in this country with apparent success. In his home country he followed the profession of man-milliner, practicing his trade in Koelleda, District of Merseburg, Prussia. He is said to have been very handsome in his youth and a most excellent workman and very industrious. Nordhoff gives us a picture of the man as he saw him in this

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<sup>2</sup>The statement of Hinde, in his "*American Communities*," p. 287, in which he states that Keil was born in Nordhausen, Germany, is, according to the best sources, fallacious.

country.<sup>4</sup> He describes him as a "short, burly man, with blue eyes, whitish hair and white beard." Nordhoff continues:

"He seemed excitable and somewhat suspicious; gave no token whatever of having studied any book but the Bible, and that only as it helped him to enforce his own philosophy. He was very quick to turn every thought toward the one subject of community life; took his illustrations mostly from the New Testament; and evidently laid much stress on the parental character of God. As he discussed, his eyes lighted up with a somewhat fierce fire; and I thought I could perceive a fanatic, certainly a person of a very determined, imperious will united to a narrow creed."

I have been fortunate in securing from Jacob G. Miller, of Aurora, Oregon, who was one of the leaders at Bethel, a large number of letters from Dr. Keil to the remaining members at Bethel. Most of these letters were written by his secretary, Karl Ruge, a college-bred man, and are in fairly good style. The ones which, according to Keil's own statement, were written by himself, are wretched illustrations of letter-writing and show a most imperfect knowledge of his own language. His pictures show him as a man with broad and high forehead, rather thick nose and a square chin—in other words, the type of a strong animal with indomitable will and bull-dog tenacity.

It seems to be the prerogative of men of Keil's profession to be moody. Their work does not absorb their mental energy completely and so they are frequently found to be the possessors of the most fanciful notions. Keil's pet inclination was first the stage. This did not prevail long, however. Soon he became a religious enthusiast and subsequently a devotee of such mystics as Jacob Boehme and his followers. He now began an investigation for a "Universalmedizin," a panacea which should heal all the ills the human flesh is heir to. This whim led him to a superficial study of botany, and in his fanciful search he no doubt acquired some smattering ideas of medicine. He made innumerable experiments to solve the laws of nature and to probe into the mystery of life, continuing them even after he came to this country. Koch asserts that Keil showed him a flask in his (Keil's) drug store in

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Communitic Societies in the U. S.," p. 318.

Pittsburg, Pa., containing a fluid which Keil purported to represent the product of his long investigation. He claimed to be in possession of mysterious cures which he avowed to have received from an old woman who, it is said, would not have parted with these secrets under any consideration, if he had not intended to leave the country. Thus Keil came in possession of these secrets before he came to the United States. Most probably they were pow-wowling formulæ, of which so many exist in certain parts of Germany and among the inhabitants, particularly the Germans, of Pennsylvania.

The exact date of Keil's coming to America is not positively fixed. It is very probable, however, that it was in 1835 or 1836. He lived for a short time in New York City and then came to Pittsburg. Soon after his arrival in Pittsburg, he performed some strange cures, as it seems, somewhat in the manner of our modern magnetic healers, and was soon dubbed by the common people with the unsavory title of "Der Hexendoktor."

In 1838 Dr. William Nast, the founder of the German Methodist Church, conducted revival meetings in Pittsburg. Keil attended these meetings and became converted. Soon after his religious awakening, he met the Rev. J. Martin Hartmann, whom he claimed as his real spiritual father. This Hartmann was deeply interested in the principles of communism, and it is very probable that he augmented, if he did not give, the initiative to Keil's closer consideration of community life. At a Quarterly Meeting held October 12th, 1839, at Stewardstown (Pennsylvania), he was licensed as local preacher, having previously shown much enthusiasm in religious work as class leader. It is stated, however, that this license was never formally issued. The first field of church activity for Keil as local preacher was at Deer Creek, near Pittsburg. Dr. Nast, in an interview with Koch, stated that, in his opinion, Keil seemed perfectly sincere in his conversion, and that at the outset of his ministerial career he was deeply concerned and eager to do good. For Keil the period of probation which the church imposed on him, as it does on all who come under its ruling, was extremely irksome, and frequent and urgent were his appeals to be given full charge of a congregation.

Dr. Nast adds a queer story, in which he states that Keil was possessor of a mysterious book, written for the most part in blood and which contained all sorts of mystic symbols and formulæ, unintelligible to any one but Keil. These secrets were nothing more, I take it, than the pow-wowling formulæ which had been communicated to Keil by the old woman above mentioned. After his conversion Keil invited Nast and several brethren to witness the burning of this mysterious book, which was regarded as the work of the devil. The destruction of the old volume took place amid certain ceremonies and prayer. Hartmann is said to have humored Keil in his pet notions concerning religions and to have stimulated him in his striving to rise faster than the church usually permits. Thus encouraged and humored Keil soon became unruly. He rebelled against the church and its tenets. Then came his separation from the Methodist Episcopal Church. He avowed that he could not work in a church where men served God for pay. He adhered to the Biblical injunction, "Freely ye have received, freely give." He was opposed to Hartmann's receiving \$400 from the missionary fund and certain stipulated sums of "class money" as salary. When Keil's superiors waived these objections, he withdrew from the church, taking the entire congregation at Deer Creek with him. Thus Keil early demonstrated that he could not obey, but must rule. He gave up his medical practice entirely and devoted himself to independent preaching. He had no income save what his members saw fit to give him voluntarily. The work as an independent preacher circumscribed his field of activity too much, however, so he joined the Protestant Methodist Church. The entire congregation at Deer Creek again followed him blindly. Now he extended his work into the "Point," that is the lower part of the city of Pittsburg, where he made many converts among the iron-workers and factory employes. As he refused to obey the superiors of the Protestant Methodist Church, its head, the Rev. Geissinger, saw himself compelled to exclude him from this body. With Keil the entire congregation again severed their connection with the church. Keil continued to denounce all ministerial service for pay as un-Christian; all sectarianism, all church regulation as

the work of human hand and unessential to the moral teachings of Christianity. He renounced all title save that of Christian; accepted no rule save the admonitions given in the Bible. To serve Christ, not man, he claimed as his sole aim. To act according to the Golden Rule, to live a morally pure life was the gist of his teaching. His whole congregation accepted these views implicitly and devotedly clung to him as their leader.

All this had happened in rapid succession before 1840. Those who have heard Keil's preaching still assert that he was a forceful and fluent speaker. Believing him to be sincere, they clung to him lovingly and devotedly, and spread his fame among those with whom they came in contact. Soon his fame extended to regions far removed from Pittsburg. Among his ardent followers were young men of talent and the gift of speech. Foremost among these were Karl G. Koch, the same who wrote the "*Lebenserfahrungen*," and three brothers, Christian, Andrew, and Henry Giesy, all Germans, as may be seen from the names; in fact, the entire body of Keil's adherents at this time was composed of Germans. The young men whose names were given above were sent out by Keil to preach his views among the Germans in the various parts of this country. They traveled for the most part on foot, preaching, in accordance with Keil's teaching, without money and without price, in the settlements of Germans, wherever they could get a hearing. They preached in private houses and in school buildings, and lodged with such persons in whom Keil's views seemed to find fruitful ground. Disdaining adherence to any established creed, they followed their leader in taking as the corner-stone of their spiritual edifice the teachings of the Apostolic Fathers. Rapidly the work spread until it extended through Western Pennsylvania, Southern Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Kentucky, even to Iowa, where in Bloomington (now Muscatine) and Iowa City, and other places small groups of the "faithful" assembled. In Ohio the influence extended through the counties of Columbiana, Stark, Trumbull, Monroe, and Washington. Sometimes Keil would follow the course his disciples had taken and strive to bring to a culmination the work they had begun and fostered. More and more Keil

came to be regarded as an extraordinary man, and those outside of his magnetic influence assert, even to-day, that he regarded himself as such. His former love for the mystics asserted itself in him again. He preached in the manner of Jacob Boehme and charged his deputies to do the same. His unsophisticated followers stood aghast before this unheard-of wisdom. Moreover Keil knew how to perplex them by telling them that he had visions. The Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelations afforded him many a favorite text, which, however, he often perverted completely, if his purpose was thereby the better accomplished. One time he is said to have made the startling assertion that on a certain day he would be publicly sacrificed. Throngs of people arrived to view the spectacle, some curious, some deeply concerned. Of course, no untoward thing befell him. The explanation was simple enough for him—the Lord still had a mission for him to fulfill. Persons outside the pale of his influence believed that his followers worshiped Keil more than Christ. In fact, it is vouched for that women, carried away by his preaching and entering into a peculiar hypnotic state, cried out, "Thou art Christ." At my last visit to Bethel, I met a man who himself had been a member of the community, who made the statement that Keil's wife (whose maiden name, by the way, was Ritter) called on the speaker's father, who had refused to join the society—having known Keil in Germany and doubting his supernatural gifts—and that Mrs. Keil, in the heat of the argument, made the startling assertion that her husband was as great as Christ Himself. To such laudations Keil is said to have remained silent. The devotion of Keil's followers was certainly great and his influence over them grew from day to day. Keil knew well how to make use of all the demonstrations of loyalty they might bring him. After some time young Koch could not share Keil's views any longer and frankly told him so. Keil used all the argumentative power at his command to hold him under his control, for Koch had a strong influence. The latter withdrew, however, and sought in every way to enlighten the people in regard to his opinion of Keil. But very few paid any heed to his admonitions, the other preachers remaining faithful to Keil. Keil designated

himself as the "Centralsonne," central sun, and the leading subordinates received the title of "Lichtfuersten" and "Lichtfuerstinnen," princes and princesses of light.

At Phillipsburg, twenty-eight miles below Pittsburg, on the Ohio River, a large body of Keil's followers lived. This town will be of interest to us in this study, as here the project of Keil's community took definite form.

In 1805 George Rapp had established the famous Harmony Society—one of the largest communistic undertakings in the United States.<sup>5</sup> This society existed at Economy, Pa., only a few miles from Phillipsburg. In 1831 the visionary Bernhard Mueller, better known in studies of communistic societies by the high-sounding title of Count Maximilian de Leon, arrived with a body of followers at Economy and was admitted by Rapp into the Harmony Society.<sup>6</sup> Mueller caused trouble by preaching, to the younger generation, at Economy, especially, the doctrine of greater personal liberty and especially the right to live in the married state—a privilege which the Harmony Society, according to the celibacy clause in its constitution, forbade. It soon became necessary for Rapp to take a determined stand. A vote was taken, and 176 persons who had been members of the society followed Count de Leon.<sup>7</sup> An indemnity was paid to the seceding members. After this separation Mueller and his followers betook themselves to Phillipsburg, where he established a colony on communistic principles, barring the celibacy provision and other strict rules of the Rapp colony. After a short time Mueller was entrapped in a fraudulent act and was compelled to flee to Arkansas, where a few of his adherents followed him. A large portion of his old charge remained in Phillipsburg. Despite the disastrous experience which they had had with two communistic societies, many of them regarded communistic life as the only ideal way of living. They maintained that all that was necessary

<sup>5</sup> Cf. John Bole's "The Harmony Society," International Press, Philadelphia.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Nordhoff's "Communistic Societies in the United States," pp. 79 and 80; also Koch, "Lebenserfahrungen," p. 129ff; Bole's "The Harmony Society," p. 124ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bole's "The Harmony Society," p. 125.



was a leader of strong personality and undoubted integrity. In Keil they saw the ideal leader for such an undertaking. No doubt Keil himself was not very reluctant either, and so the beginning was made for the society which I wish to discuss. Here Keil foresaw a chance to rule, such as he had never had before. The former members of the disbanded Leon colony, as well as those who had been with Rapp, gave Keil many hints concerning communistic undertakings. One of the things which they recommended to Keil as an especially strong factor in holding the people under one's control was the practice of requiring confession from the members of the organization. This Rapp had practiced with great success. This confession consisted in subjecting the people to a series of questions on very delicate topics. This appealed to Keil and as a matter of experiment he introduced this confession in his church. Being subject to none of the older churches, he could do so with impunity. He had the young people come to him alone; the married people, however, were forced to come, husband and wife together. Most of the interrogations, to which he subjected them, pertained to sex and sexual relations. Some of the persons turned from him in disgust, but many did confess sincerely. The strife which he thus conjured up in some of the families was very bitter and the happy relations of many a home were unnecessarily disturbed. In his sermons he is said to have spoken freely of these things, and he made use of the information thus obtained to intimidate the simple folk and to whip them into line and to more easily compel them to do his bidding. Believing that he would be more successful in a communistic venture and feeling the great influence he had over the people in his charge, he definitely decided on the organization of a communistic society. He counselled carefully with the ex-Harmonists and the ex-Leonists. They having had experience in such matters and being men of rare ability as mechanics and artisans, were most earnestly solicited to participate. The number of the ex-communists was, however, too small for his undertaking. It was therefore necessary that more persons should become interested in the undertaking. In the capacity of preacher he had become acquainted with a great many persons in various regions of this country. He

knew, too, that he had a certain influence over them. Accordingly he sent out his messengers to the various communities where his deputies had preached. A general invitation was issued for all to join the undertaking. The advantages were not too much discussed, in order that there might not be too many discontented parties. The only offer which Keil is said to have held forth is that the participants in the attempt should have plenty of work and bread and water. But so certain was he of his power over these people, that he doubted not that many of them would willingly join him, in order that they might be under the immediate supervision of a man whom they regarded as more than ordinary. A number of those appealed to did accept the call. As fast as they could dispose of their property, they joined the society. I do not wish to be understood as saying that the majority of those who had come under the pale of Keil's preaching and the preaching of his deputies joined. Many of them had no wish of giving up individualism. Then, too, Karl Koch was very active in his attempts to prevent the people from joining. The ex-Harmonists and ex-Leonists who expressed a willingness to participate insisted on having a written constitution. Accordingly such a document was drawn up. But as the people could not agree as to certain provisions it contained, Keil was called in and the matter submitted to him. He at once declared most emphatically that under no condition would he be bound and fettered by any written agreement. If a man's word was not as good as a written law, then he could and would have nothing to do with the entire project. The Bible should be the foundation of the society which he proposed to found; the Golden Rule should be its motto. It is most interesting to know that such an old document did exist in the Bethel community, although it is usually stated, even by the ex-members that there was never any written agreement. For practical purposes this is true enough, for it was never put into effect. But as a matter of historic fact, it is interesting to know that an attempt was made to build the society on a written agreement. The finder of such old document would be lucky indeed. The old gentleman in whose possession it was last found believes that it was destroyed with a mass of

other old papers. He recalled, however, that some of the provisions set forth therein, pertained to the admission and dismissal of members. Moreover he states that this writ provided that young men who were taken into the society were forbidden to marry before the expiration of the third year of their membership. Furthermore it must not be overlooked that this was the time when the agitation of the Mormon affairs made exclusive societies of this nature very unpopular, in Missouri at any rate. Under the proposed arrangement the society had no legal existence. The various members must hold the property of the body in trust. The Bethel Society remained an unincorporated body of persons until its dissolution. It was only a voluntary gathering of like-minded individuals. Nothing could possibly testify more strongly to the astonishing power of Dr. Keil. For twenty-four years he was able to rule this extremely loosely knit body dogmatically and to dictate its policies to his own liking.

It has been made to appear by certain writers on this subject that the followers of Keil were an ignorant lot, who knew nought but to toil. I am not willing to accept this statement without qualification. The majority of the membership consisted of common toilers, to be sure, who brought nought but their willing hands. But is not every community made up in this manner? I have found among the surviving colonists men rather well read and extremely shrewd in business matters. Moreover I have conclusive proof that many of them possessed information that would have placed them side by side with the better informed men of any average community—men who were far more intellectual than Dr. Keil, their leader. Notable among these was Karl Ruge, a college-bred man, who came to America with the great number of intellectual aristocrats of 1848. Here, too, is to be mentioned Henry Finck, a master in music, to whom is due, in a large measure, the high position which the colony of Bethel took as a centre of music lovers in those early days. One of his sons has become a noted musical critic in New York City, while the other has made his mark as an attorney-at-law in the same metropolis. Nor must I pass by the great number of artisans whose handiwork still remains at Bethel as the strongest testi-

monial of their ability. Then there were men of the type of C. Wolf, who, conscious of their own strength and ability, had the temerity to oppose even Dr. Keil in some of his undertakings. After deliberate, impartial and unbiased examination I am prepared to gainsay the statement that the colony consisted of ignorant men only. In trying to solve the problem as to why it was possible for Keil to gather so large a body of followers around him, it may be that Hinds, in his "American Communities," pp. 287-8, has found the right solution. He says:

"I can only account for this by recalling, that when Dr. Keil began his independent career the people of the Eastern and Middle States had just passed through a series of religious and other excitements that made them eager for new social conditions, and so quick to follow those who offered to lead them where such new conditions would prevail, and by supposing that Dr. Keil, however foolish his fanaticism and preposterous his claims, had yet wonderful powers of gaining and holding the attention and hearts of men."

What effect Keil had on the intellectual life of the colony after its founding is another question which will be considered in due time.

In the spring of 1844 the plans had matured sufficiently to make operative the search for a location for the new colony. Of the instructions which the three deputies, Adam Schuele, David Wagner, and Christian Presser, took with them, as they wandered west in search of land, we know nothing. Most probably they were never transmitted to writing, as nearly all the orders and transactions were oral and without any tangible form. It seems reasonable to assume that Keil gave direction to the effect that they should find land in a region virgin in nature, where the contaminating influences of advanced civilization did not obtain, to effect the new settlement. They selected a site in one of the choicest agricultural regions of Missouri, in Shelby County, on North River. The place is not particularly romantic, but for the purpose of the settlement there are many advantages connected with this location. According to the "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties," p. 861 f, Peter Stice lived here at the time of the purchase by the colony and operated a saw-mill here, using the water of North River as motor power. According

to the same source three other land-owners were located here, Rookwood, Vandiver, and Chinn. Their land was acquired by the colony. Other tracts were later entered from the government.

In the autumn of 1844 Keil and his family, together with George Miller and a few others, arrived in this western wild. They spent the winter amid considerable hardship, dwelling in some of the old log houses on and near the purchase. Vandiver possessed a good brick house, which was built in about 1840 and is still inhabited to this day. Here, most probably, some of the colonists found shelter, for the hospitality of the Missourian of that day has ever been proverbial. In the spring of 1845 many other colonists arrived. They did not all come at the same time, but they arrived as soon as they were able to dispose of their possessions at home. Some of them purchased a boat to come down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. There joined themselves to these men a number of adventurers who did not have the cause of the society at heart. The result was that the society grew rather rapidly—in fact, too rapidly, for the adventurers soon became dissatisfied and severed their connection, often causing a good deal of unpleasantness and defaming the undertaking before the world. Keil they could not attack personally, for he had promised them nothing but hard work and bread and water. As has already been indicated, the members came from every region into which Keil had sent his deputies.

The men of the hour were the former members of Harmony Society. Schooled in the ways of communistic life, and complete masters of some trade, they became the saviors in time of imminent danger and need. The names of these ex-Rappites are, according to the memory of the old men at Bethel, the following: Adam Schuele, Matheus Schuele, Jacob Vaihinger, John C. Bauer, Michael Forstner, George Forstner, George Ziegler, David Wagner, Adam Keller, Christian Smith, Samuel Schreiber, and George Schnauffer. Some of these men who were especially skilled in some trade were urged by Keil to join the society. Others came of their own free will. Having had experience, however, with Rapp and Leon, some of them would not join without imposing certain conditions. So they proposed to belong to the society for

a specified time only. If at the expiration of this time the society pleased them, they would continue as members. If, on the other hand, the affair was not to their liking, they reserved the right to be free to withdraw. This was a rather odd condition to enter into on the part of Keil, but he needed these men exceedingly much in his new enterprise. Some of these men, in fact, the greater number, it is said, withdrew at the end of the time specified in their agreement. It is impossible to find a written statement concerning this compact. Most probably it was only a verbal agreement, as most of the transactions of the society were of this nature. The word of a man was as good as his signed statement. Since these men had conducted to the stock of the society, they demanded the return of their investment. As the money had been spent in the acquisition and improvement of the property of the colony, they could not be paid in cash. Hence certain pieces of property were assigned them as a remuneration. Their services to the colony having been most valuable, it is not hard to understand that they should demand some of the choice tracts of land. This demand had to be complied with, and so these men who no longer had any connection with the society became possessors of some of the finest building sites in Bethel. One of the most flagrant cases of this kind was that of John C. Bauer. He decided not to leave the town of Bethel, although he had volunteered, on the strength of the above named compact, to sever his connection with the colony. Many attempts were made to "freeze him out," as a surviving kinsman of his puts it, but without success. Bauer was such an excellent mechanic that the society constantly had to employ him, when they found themselves in a predicament. So he continued to ply his trade with a good deal of success. Thus a strange condition had come about: In the midst of communism there was the purest individualism. Simple as the whole matter is, it seems quite hazy in the minds of some of the writers of this subject. Hinde in his work, "American Communities," p. 293, says:

"A small store in the heart of the village was owned and managed by an outsider. The explanation of this singular state of things is found in the fact that a few years after the founding of the com-

munity, to satisfy the malcontents, a partition of the property was made among the members, and a few availed themselves of the opportunity to withdraw their share from the common interest, and have since managed it wholly for themselves."

Now this statement is misleading. There was no general division of the property at this time, as the above statement would imply. The young men who owned and operated the store in question were the sons of John C. Bauer. They erected their place of business on the site which their father had received, as per the agreement which was made before they left Pennsylvania. All those who received a title to property at Bethel at this time had an agreement of the kind discussed above. They cannot be called malcontents in the true sense, since they had a definite understanding with Keil to stay with him for a certain time only. In granting them property, Keil fulfilled only his part of the contract, they having already fulfilled their part. These sons of John Bauer, who, by the way, are now spelling their name Bower, operated a very successful general merchandise business, selling to outsiders as well as to the members of the society—for it must be remembered that this society which, so to speak, stands on the border-line of communism, allowed its members to have some private earnings. This income they were not compelled to turn over to the general coffers, and they thus had some money to spend for things which the society store did not provide for them. From their gardens they also derived some private earnings, and so the strange mixture of communism and individualism, manifested at Bethel, finds an easy, logical and historical solution when the above facts and agreements are kept in mind.

Keil had been, and was still, at the founding of the colony in Missouri, a religious enthusiast, or if you choose, a fanatic. For most of his actions he cited parallel instances in the Bible. In accordance with such an inclination, he called the places he founded on North River after Bible names: Bethel, Elim, Mamri, and Hebron, while in Adair County the place was named Nineveh. His ardor seems to have died out, however, for in Oregon he named the only place there founded by him after a favorite daughter of his—Aurora.

Soon after the most necessary needs had been met, the colonists proceeded to erect a church building. They spared no pains and trouble in making it a magnificent place of worship. All the skill of the local artisans and artists was represented in this edifice. It was constructed of brick and stone and finished in the most beautiful black walnut, of which an abundance grew on the banks of the North. According to Nordhoff, p. 325, the floor was made of large red tiles, and a narrow pulpit stood at one end. There were two doors, one for each of the sexes. The men and women sat on separate sides of the room. I am told by persons who saw the old church, that a spacious gallery ran along three sides of this hall, a portion of which was railed off for the band which played on festival occasions. This gallery was faced with large and neatly carved panels of black walnut, 18 by 24 inches in size, and each of one entire piece of wood. In the massive tower hung three bells. When I remarked to one of the old members that this building must have been an enormous expense to the young colony, he said with an air of great pride that the whole church cost them nothing save what they had to expend for window glass, nails and the three bells. All the rest of this fine structure was prepared by the colonists themselves. This church was the pride of the community as well as the entire county of Shelby. One can scarcely interview an old resident of Shelby County who knew the colony in its palmy days, who does not make reference to this magnificent edifice. In this church the colonists assembled every two weeks to hear Dr. Keil "preach," as they called it. As Keil professed allegiance to none of the established churches, he had no particular doctrine to uphold or defend. As one of the old men told me, he simply preached the doctrine of moral living. One hears so many contradictory reports concerning Keil, and is told so often that he indulged in excesses himself, that it is difficult to see how he could have had unalloyed success. However, he had such a firm grip on his people, that they feared him and did not raise a voice against him. The chief aims of his preaching seem to have been to induce his followers to lead a moral life; to assert his authority; to compel the members to be industrious and thus foster the progress of the



community. The strongest weapons he had were employed to instill into his members fear and respect of his authority. To give a concrete example of his preaching, I shall cite a specific incident which was communicated to me by a wholly truthful person. Whether through the system of confession which he made use of, or in some other way, Keil had an inkling that some of his members were guilty of illicit carnal intercourse. He resorted to the following drastic measures to expose the malefactors and to check the evil. In open meeting he made known his discoveries and in conclusion charged those concerned to arise there and then before the assembly or upon failure to do so he would announce their names. So terrified were the guilty ones and so overawed were they by the man, that they arose at once, confessed their guilt and penitently bowed before the fearful upbraiding which was hurled at them from the pulpit. The most natural thing imaginable, namely, that they should leave the community, the scene of their disgrace, did not happen. They remained and bore in contriteness the contumely which followed such a confession or exposure.

Since Keil and his followers had no obligations to any established church, it was but natural that the usual observances of the church should be omitted. Thus they did away with baptism; they had no more confirmation, a custom which many of the members had been used to in Germany; they did not celebrate the Lord's Supper in the orthodox manner—if they observed it at all, it took the form of a general meal at the home of some member. The confession which Keil made use of was employed solely for the purpose of instilling fear for his authority.

The church which is represented at Bethel now—for the day of the old Keil church has long passed—is the Methodist Episcopal. The services are all in the English language. A few years ago a German Methodist Church existed, but it had to be abandoned for want of support. In the building which the German Methodists owned, the Christian church has begun to hold its meetings.

One of Keil's former followers told me that none of Keil's old members joined the Methodist Church after the dissolution

of the society. They had gotten so out of tune with the old churches that they could not make themselves comply with their teachings, and so remained without the pale of all church organization. The membership of the existing church at Bethel is made up of the younger generation in the town and of the people of the surrounding country. The following significant statement of an old Keilite will throw some light on the subject of their attitude towards the church:

"The churches do no harm as long as the preachers behave themselves."

There were several festivals during the year which were always celebrated in grand style. First among these was Keil's birthday, which was always a colony holiday. Then came Easter and Pentecost and the Harvest Feast in the autumn. On these occasions great tables were spread and loaded with all the things that the German kitchen and cellar could offer. These feasts were held at Elim, the residence of Keil. Everybody was welcome and from far and wide the people came to share in the feast. A procession was formed in Bethel and, led by the band, marched to Elim. The band also played during the entire time of the feast. No charges were imposed and all strangers were made to feel at home. In the evening there was dancing. The real purpose of this almost unparalleled generosity is not well known. Whether it be that they wished to induce outsiders to come into the fold of the society or whether it was simply pure altruism on the part of the colonists, I am not prepared to say. At Christmas time the church was decorated with two huge Christmas trees. The celebration, which was rather unique, took place at the early hour of four on Christmas Day. For this occasion, also, hosts of strangers arrived. The programme consisted of a talk by the preacher, congregational singing and music by the band. Then huge baskets of cakes and apples and quantities of candy were distributed. Colonists and strangers shared these absolutely alike. The trees were allowed to remain standing until New Year's Day, and then the gifts were distributed among the children of the colony. This beautiful celebration was in time interrupted by

rowdy elements which came from the surrounding region, and so, rather than compel them to be orderly and thereby possibly making enemies, they abandoned this unique custom.

The description of the colony church logically suggests the mention of other structures and the prevailing style of architecture. As stated before, the site of the Bethel settlement is not particularly interesting; in fact, it is almost wholly devoid of all that might be termed romantic. Most of the buildings and their surroundings do not help to alleviate the prosaic effect. The buildings are made to serve practical purposes and are almost totally barren of all ornamentation. They are usually made of brick which the colonists made themselves, of stone which was quarried along the North River, and of timber which was hewn and sawed in the surrounding forest. The houses are built close to the street. Most of them have no front yard whatever. The architecture is of that very plain style so common in many old German settlements of this State. The eaves drip on the street and often there is no porch at the entrance. The structures are carefully put up, however, and seem to be capable of surviving yet many a decade. In some instances a wooden framework was erected and the intervening spaces were filled with brick and mortar. These buildings were plastered on both the inside and outside. The hinges and locks are hand-made.

*(To be Continued.)*



J. HANNO DEILER

J. HANNO DEILER. *Eine Würdigung.*

Die Nachricht, dass J. Hanno Deiler, Professor Emeritus der Tulane Universität in New Orleans, in Covington, La., in dessen Fichtenwäldern er eine Besserung seines Herzleidens erhoffte, am 21. Juli gestorben ist, hat nicht allein in Deutsch-Amerika, sondern auch in den amerikanischen Kreisen, in welchen man die Verdienste deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichtsforscher zu schätzen weiss, aufrichtige Trauer hervorgerufen.

Deiler war bahnbrechend für die Erforschung der Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung am unteren Mississippi gewesen. In französischen Quellen, in alten Kirchenbüchern, in den überaus dürftigen Überlieferungen, welche eine schriftliche Aufzeichnung gefunden haben und bis auf unsere Zeit erhalten geblieben sind, suchte er mühsam das Material zusammen und ordnete es zu dem lichtvollen und hochinteressanten Essay, der in den "GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS" unter dem Titel "The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana" kürzlich erschien und dessen Buchausgabe jetzt fertiggestellt ist. Was amerikanische Geschichtsschreiber, wenn sie es überhaupt einer Erwähnung würdigten, ganz kurz berührten, das hatte Hanno Deiler zum Gegenstande eingehender Studien gemacht und eine völlige "terra incognita" geschichtlicher Forschung erschlossen. Ohne ihn wäre wohl nie bekannt geworden, dass deutscher Energie und deutschem Fleisse die Durchführung eines kolonialen Unternehmens zu danken ist, an welchem französische Ansiedlungsversuche scheiterten. Bei der Urbarmachung der fast undurchdringlichen Cypressenwälder unter der tropischen Sonne des Südens bewährten sich die Deutschen als erfolgreiche Pioniere. Und was sie einmal dem jungfräulichen Boden in schwerer, ermüdender und langwieriger Arbeit abgerungen hatten, das behaupteten sie trotz der Zerstörungslust der Elemente und der Feindseligkeit der Indianer. Ansiedlungen, deren ursprünglich deutsche Namen durch französische und spanische Spracheinflüsse vollständig unerkennbar geworden waren, wusste Deiler mit grossem Scharfsinn als deutsch zu reklamieren. Seine Abhandlung über "Die Creolen deutscher Abstammung" ist eine ethnographische Studie, in welcher er den Nachweiss führt, dass nicht allein die in Louisiana geborenen

Söhne und Töchter französischer und spanischer Eltern als Creolen bezeichnet wurden, sondern auch die Kinder deutscher Eltern.

Interessante Beiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in New Orleans bot Deiler in seiner "Geschichte der New Orleanser deutschen Presse" und in seiner "Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans". Leider ist der zweite Teil der "Geschichte der deutschen Presse" nicht vollendet. Hanno Deiler schrieb in einem elf Tage vor seinem Tode an den Unterzeichneten gerichteten Briefe: "Der zweite Teil meiner "Geschichte der deutschen Presse" ist noch nicht fertig, da ich das Material für manche der Denkwürdigkeiten, die ich, wie im ersten Teil, hineinarbeiten will, bisher nicht habe zusammenbringen können. Meine lange Krankheit, ich liege seit dem 3. Juni beinahe beständig im Bett und soll weder lesen oder schreiben, noch denken, ist Schuld daran".

Über die Zahl und den Bestand deutscher Kirchen und Schulen gibt Deiler in seiner "Geschichte der deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana" Aufschluss. Als Vorkämpfer des Deutschtums verrichteten deutsche katholische und protestantische Geistliche dieselbe schwere Arbeit zur Erschliessung des Bodens, wie die irischen Glaubensboten in den Wäldern Germaniens. Vom Zauber amerikanischer Siedlungsromantik getragen wird Deilers Ehrenrettung des geheimnisvollen Führers deutscher Schwärmer, des Grafen Maximilian de Leon, alias Proli, alias Bernhard Müller, aus Offenbach, den die Rappisten, angeblich fälschlich, zum Schwindler stempelten, weil ihnen die neue Ansiedlung in ihrer Nähe, welche im Jahre 1837 von Proli in Philippsburg, Pa., angelegt worden war, nicht gefiel. Der deutsche Kaiser erkannte Deilers verdienstvolle Forscherarbeit dadurch an, dass er ihm den Kronenorden verlieh.

Aber Deiler war nicht allein ein Geschichtsforscher von bahnbrechender Bedeutung, ein Jugendbildner, der während seiner 28-jährigen Lehrtätigkeit unter den Studenten der Tulane Universität der deutschen Sprache und Literatur viele Freunde gewonnen hat, ein Redner von geradezu packender Wirkung, wenn es der deutschen Sache galt, ein begeisterter Vorkämpfer des deutschen Liedes, dem er als ausgezeichnete Dirigent und als Präsident des Nordamerikanischen Sängerbundes seine Dienste widmete, sondern auch ein stolzer Verkünder des Wertes und der Bedeutung der deutschen Einwanderung unter dem Amerikanertum, das ihm, dem hervorragenden Gelehrten und berufenen Führer des Deutschtums, den Zoll der Anerkennung und Hochachtung nicht versagen konnte. Es

ist nicht mit Unrecht behauptet worden, dass der Tod Hanno Deilers einen schwer zu ersetzenden Verlust für Deutsch-Amerika bedeutet, denn von ihm ging eine Menge wertvoller Anregungen aus, deren Durchführung dem deutschen Element in den Vereinigten Staaten zum Heile gereichte. Hanno Deiler hat das 60ste Lebensjahr nicht vollendet. Er hatte seinem Körper zu viel zugemutet, als er in der Vollkraft seiner Jahre stand und seine Lebensenergie aufgebraucht, um dem Deutschtum und der deutschen Sache zu dienen. Wenn der Besten deutschen Stammes hier in Amerika gedacht wird, wird der Mann nicht vergessen werden, der die grossen Verdienste der deutschen Einwanderung am unteren Mississippi nachwies und so viel getan hat, um in seinen Landsleuten den Stolz auf die deutsche Abstammung zu erwecken und mächtig anzuregen.

Nachstehend eine kurze biographische Skizze, welche in dem nahezu fertiggestellten Werke "Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika" erscheinen wird und die Gutheissung Hanno Deilers gefunden hat:

Johann Hanno Deiler wurde am 8. August, 1849, in Altötting, Ober-Bayern, geboren, war Schullehrer in Bayern und wurde 1871 als Vorsteher an eine deutsche Schule in New Orleans berufen. Er landete am 22. Januar, 1872, in New York. Im Jahre 1879 wurde er Professor an der University of Louisiana (jetzt Tulane Universität). Er liess sich hie Pflege des deutschen Männergesangs unter seinen Landsleuten in New Orleans anlegen und suchte fördernd auf deren geistiges Leben einzuwirken. Eine Reihe von Jahren war er Präsident der Deutschen Gesellschaft in der Halbmondstadt. Er gründete den New Orleans Quartett Club, einen der besten Gesang-Vereine des Südens. Da er selbst musikalisch gebildet war, wurde er dessen Dirigent. Prof. Deiler leitete die Massenchorbeim grossen Sängerfest des Nordamerikanischen Sängerbundes im Februar 1890 in New Orleans, welches zu einem grossartigen Erfolge sich gestaltete. Prof. Deiler wohnte dem 4. Allgemeinen Deutschen Sängerbundfest in Wien 1890 und dem 5. in Stuttgart 1896 bei und fand als Redner eine geradezu enthusiastische Aufnahme. Seit 1890 war er Präsident des Nordamerikanischen Sängerbundes. Er gründete das Archiv für deutsche Geschichte. Im Jahre 1907 legte er Krankheit halber sein Amt als Professor der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an der Tulane Universität, das er 28 Jahre in verdienstvoller Weise bekleidet hatte, nieder.

MAX HEINRICI.

## KOMMERS DES PHILADELPHIA ZWEIGS DER VEREINIGUNG ALTER DEUTSCHER STUDENTEN IN AMERICA.

Der Schlusskommers des Jahres 1908—1909 wurde am 22ten Mai im Hotel Walton gefeiert. Derselbe verlief aufs Beste; fünfzig alte Studenten waren anwesend, unter ihnen auch einige Mitglieder des Technischen Vereins in Philadelphia.

Die Vereinigung alter Deutscher Studenten war vom Technischen Verein zu dem Gartenfeste in dem Garten des Deutschen Clubs am Samstag, den 26. Juni, eingeladen.

Wir können nicht umhin, dass einer der lebhaftesten alten Studenten bei den Gelegenheiten unser ältestes Semester (125) Herr Dr. Georg von Langsdorff war.

Einige der Mitglieder der Vereinigung hatten das besondere Vergnügen Herrn Dr. von Langsdorff am 15. Juli, 1909, in seiner Wohnung zu überraschen und ihm zu seinem 87ten Geburtstag zu gratulieren. Seine Tochter liess es sich nicht nehmen eine Pfirsichbowle aufzustellen. Am Abend gingen dann alle in das gegenüber gelegene Hotel Majestic, wo einige Stunden in der schlicht dekorirten Sommergrotto verbracht wurden.

A. B.



# German American Annals

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### GERMANS IN TEXAS.

(Concluded.)

BY GILBERT G. BENJAMIN, PH.D.

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#### APPENDIX A.

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(Germans in the Texan War for Independence. Rosenberg, Kritik p. 7.)

The following Germans are named in the archives of Texas among those who took part in the Revolution of 1836:—

Carl Amsler, Louis L. Amelung, Jacob Albrecht, Wm. Ahlert, Joseph Biegel, Joh. Brugiesky, Joh. A. Baumacher, Thomas Bertram, W. M. Burch, Franz Dieterich, N. Dombriski, George B. Erath, F. G. Elm, Herman Ehrenberg, Conrad Eigenauer, Bernhard Eilers, Fritz Ernst, Algert Emanuel, Joseph Ellinger, Carl Fordtran, Carl A. Felder, Abraham Formann, Peter H. Fullenweider, Wilhelm

Frels, Wilhelm Friedländer, F. W. Grasmeyer, Jacob H. Geiger, Friederich Griebenrath, Conrad Gürgens, Carl Giesecke, Joseph Herz, Christian Hillebrandt, Moriz Heinrich, Georg Herder, Joh. F. Hollen, Joh. Heunecke, Eduart Harkort, J. A. Heiser, F. W. Heuseman, Herman Halt, Caspar Harnmacher, Friedrich Helmüller, Louis Kleberg, Robert Kleberg, August Kinchel, Louis Knup, Joh. Köpf, A. D. Kessler, Franz Keller, Louis Kratz, Anton Lehmkuhl, Georg W. Lückenhofer, Carl Lyninburg, Wilhelm Langenheim, G. W. Lück, Freiderich Lundt, Ferdinand Lüders, Carl Messer, Freiderich Niebling, Johann Oberländer, Joh. Peske, Peter Pieper, W. G. Preusch, J. P. Reinhardt, Eugen Pucholasky, August Carl Redlich, Geo. W. Ricks, W. Rosenberg, L. S. von Röder, Albrecht v. Röder, Joachim v. Röder, Louis v. Röder, Otto v. Röder, Rudolph v. Röder, Wilhelm v. Röder, Louis Schulz, H. Schulz, J. Schür, Adolph Stern, R. Stölke, Friederich Schrack, C. U. Schütz, Ferdinand Schröder, Georg Sullsbach, Henry Thürwächter, Carl Tapps, J. Q. Volckmar, Samuel Wolfenberger, Wm. Wagner, Henry Wilke, Philip Weppler, Jacob Wilhelm, Richard Wilhelm, Louis v. Zacharius, Joh. Zekainsky.

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## APPENDIX B.

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### TEXAS.

*Ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer. Bremen, 1846, pp. 64 ff.*

Ueber den Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas.

Im Frühling des Jahres 1844 brachten die öffentlichen Blätter nachfolgende Bekanntmachung:

Ein Verein hat sich gebildet, dessen Zweck es ist, die deutsche Auswanderung so viel als möglich nach einem einzigen günstig gelegenen Punkte hinzuleiten, die Auswanderer auf der weiten Reise und in der neuen Heimath zu unterstützen und nach Kräften dahin zu wirken, dass ihnen jenseits des Meeres eine neue Heimath gesichert werde.

Der Verein erlässt diese Bekanntmachung nicht in der Absicht, Geldkräfte für sein Unternehmen zu gewinnen; das Geschäftskapital ist bereits vollständig gezeichnet. Allein im Bewusstsein des guten Zweckes ist er es dem Publikum und sich selbst schuldig, die Gründe, welche den Verein in's Leben gerufen, die Art und Weise, wie er seine Aufgabe zu lösen hofft, und die Grundsätze, die ihn dabei leiten, offen darzulegen.

Der Verein will den Trieb zur Auswanderung weder anregen, noch entschuldigen. Genug, das Bedürfniss besteht einmal, und lässt sich leider eben so wenig wegläugnen, als es möglich ist, jenem



immer lebendigeren Triebe Einhalt zu thun. Vielfältige Ursachen wirken dabei zusammen; die Verdrängung der Handarbeit durch das Maschinenwesen, die grossen, fast periodischen Unfälle, die den Handel heimsuchen, die zunehmende Verarmung, eine Folge der Uebervölkerung und des Mangels an Arbeit; endlich wohl auch der gerühmte Reichtum des Bodens im neuen Lande und die manchmal belohnte, oft getäuschte Hoffnung auf ein besseres Sein und Wirken jenseits der Meere.

Unter solchen Verhältnissen mussten die Auswanderer in der That einem besseren Loose entgegengehen, wenn sie, in wohlgeordneter Masse zusammenhaltend, eine richtige Leitung und einen wirkamen Schutz in der Fremde fänden. Und somit ist die Nothwendigkeit wie der Zweck des Vereins von selbst gegeben: er will es versuchen, die Auswanderung zu regeln, und zu leiten, damit die Möglichkeit gegeben werde, dass die Deutschen in Amerika eine deutsche Heimath wiederfinden, und aus dem ununterbrochenen Zusammenhange unter sich und mit dem alten Vaterlande ein gewerblicher und Handelsverkehr entstehe, der beiden zum materiellen und geistigen Gewinne gereichen muss. Auf diese Weise wünscht der Verein das Seinige zu thun zu Deutschlands Ehre und Wohl beizutragen, um vielleicht den deutschen Armen eine belohnende Thätigkeit, dem deutschen Seehandel ein weitere Ausdehnung dereinst zu eröffnen.

Nach langer, sorgfältiger Prüfung hat sich der Verein dafür entschieden, dass Texas dasjenige Land ist, welches dem deutschen Auswanderer am besten zusagen möchte. Das gesunde Clima, die Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens, der Reichtum seiner Erzeugnisse und die Leichtigkeit der Verbindungen mit Europa haben schon seit längerer Zeit eine grosse Zahl von auswanderungslustigen Deutschen dahin gezogen, die jedoch, ohne Schutz und Schirm, sich vereinzelt, und leider oft ganz zu Grunde gingen. Um so mehr musste sich die Aufmerksamkeit des Vereins nach diesen Gegenden wenden. Durch erfahrene und des Landes kundige Männer hat er das texanische Gebiet bereisen lassen, und so vollständige Aufschlüsse erhalten, dass er mit gutem Gewissen und voller Ueberzeugung seine Wahl treffen konnte.

Der Verein hat im gesündesten Theile jenes Landes ein zusammenhängendes noch unbebautes Gebiet von beträchtlichem Umfang erworben, wird dort die Ansiedlung derjenigen Deutschen, die das alte Vaterland verlassen, nach Kräften befördern, und hierzu die von den Verhältnissen gebotenen, zweckdienlichsten Mittel anwenden.

Vor dem Abgang wird jedem Auswanderer eine Strecke gutes Landes schriftlich zugesichert, welches er bei seiner Ankunft als Geschenk, ohne alle jetzige oder künftige Vergütung, vom Vereine erhält. Dieser Boden, dessen grösserer oder geringerer Flächenraum sich nach der Grösse der Familie richtet, wird freies Eigenthum des Auswanderers, sobald er drei Jahre lang auf seinem Gute gewohnt. Aber auch vor Ablauf dieser drei Jahre gehören ihm die

Erzeugnisse seines Bodens, und der Verein macht weder auf jene, noch auf diesen den geringsten Anspruch.

Der Verein ist ferner dafür bemüht, gute und geräumige Schiffe für die Ueberfahrt auszuwählen; er sorgt dafür, dass es an gesunder, wohlfeiler Nahrung nicht fehle, und die Reisekosten so gering als möglich ausfallen. An den Landungsplätzen sind besondere Agenten damit beauftragt, den Auswanderern mit Rath und That an die Hand zu gehen; die Letzteren finden hier Wagen bereit, die sie mit ihrer Habe unentgeltlich an den Ort ihrer Ansiedlung führen. Auch für ihre Bedürfnisse unterwegs wird Vorsorge getroffen. So wie sie an Ort und Stelle anlangen, wird jeder Familie ein eigenes Haus eingeräumt, versteht sich, nur nach dortiger Art aus aufeinander gelegten Balken gezimmert; Vorrathshäuser mit Lebensmitteln, Werkzeugen für Garten und Ackerbau, Samen und Pflanzen aller Art wohl versehen, sichern ihnen Alles, was sie zur Arbeit und zum Leben bedürfen; ebenso finden sie die nöthigen Hausthiere, als Pflugochsen, Pferde, Kühe, Schweine, Schafe, schon an Ort und Stelle. Alles dies wird ihnen zu einem viel geringeren Preise verkauft, als die nämlichen Gegenstände auf den nächstgelegenen Märkten zu haben sind. Solche Auswanderer, deren Betragen und Thätigkeit sich besonders bewährt, erhalten von Seiten der Verwaltung Vorschüsse, die von der ersten Ernte zurückzuzahlen sind.

Den Auswanderern steht es frei, die Erzeugnisse ihres Ackerbaues und ihrer Gewerbsthätigkeit an die Magazine des Vereins zu veräußern.

Für sittliche und religiöse Erziehung der Kinder zu sorgen, betrachtet der Verein als eine heilige Pflicht; er wird daher, je nach den Bedürfnissen der Bevölkerung, Kirchen und Schulen in der Kolonie errichten lassen. Er wird nicht minder für die Anstellung von Aerzten und Apothekern, so wie für Gründung eines Krankenhauses Sorge tragen.

Eine Gemeindeverfassung und eine Gerichtsordnung beide nach dem Vorbilde der in Texas anerkannten englischen, werden, sobald es nur thunlich, durch die Verwaltung der Ansiedlungen hergestellt.

Sollten sich unter den Auswanderern einzelne zur Rückkehr nach Europa bewogen finden, so wird ihnen die Heimfahrt zu den nämlichen Preisen, wie die Hinfahrt, auf den Schiffen des Vereins zugesichert.

Der erste Zug von Auswanderern geht im September dieses Jahres 1844 ab; allein schon im Mai werden zwei Mitglieder des Vereins nach Texas reisen, um dort Vorbereitungen zur Aufnahme der Auswanderer zu treffen und die Verwaltung der Ansiedelungen vorläufig einzurichten.

Der Verein wird drei Prozent seiner Einnahme dazu verwenden, um dürftigen Auswanderern die Ueberfahrt und Ansiedelung zu erleichtern. Vorläufig jedoch und bis er diese Absicht zu wirklichen

im Stande ist, kann die Niederlassung in der Kolonie nur Denjenigen zugestanden werden, welche die unumgänglich erforderlichen Geldmittel besitzen.

Der unverheirathete Einwanderer bedarf wenigstens ein Capital von 300 Gulden.

Das Haupt einer nicht zahlreichen Familie ein Capital von 600 Gulden.

Um aber auch einer wenn gleich nur kleinen Anzahl von ärmeren Familien sogleich die Ansiedelung möglich zu machen, wird der Verein in dem er glaubt, den edlen Gesinnungen, die man ihm bereits zu erkennen gegeben, dadurch am besten entgegen zu kommen eine Liste zu Freiwilliger Unterzeichnung eröffnen, deren Ertrag ausschliesslich zu diesem Zwecke bestimmt ist. Jährlich sollen sodann die Beiträge und deren Verwendung, so wie die Namen der Wohlthäter in den gelesensten Blättern Deutschlands bekannt gemacht werden.

Wenn der Verein auf diese Weise, so viel in seinen Kräften steht, dem Unternehmen einen glücklichen Erfolg zu sichern bemüht ist, so beruht doch das Gelingen am meisten auf der ernsten unverdrossenen Thätigkeit der Auswanderer selbst. Das neue Vaterland jenseits des Oceans wird nur dann gedeihlich emporblühen, wenn die Deutschen auch dort sich bewähren, wie sie stets in der Heimath waren: arbeitsam, beharrlich, treu der guten Sitte und dem Gesetze. Darf der Verein auch hieran nicht zweifeln, so wird er doch, um nicht das Wohl und Wehe deutscher Landsleute den Zufälligkeiten eines Versuches preiszugeben, im Laufe dieses Jahres fürs erste nur ein Hundert und fünfzig Familien zur Uebersiedelung zulassen, und erst dann, wenn diese eine wohlgesicherte Niederlassung gegründet haben, einer weiteren Auswanderung mit Rath und That anhanden gehen.

Genauere Aufschlüsse und Auskunft jeder Art werden auf frankirte briefliche Anfragen ertheilt:

Zu Mainz bei der Verwaltung des Vereins zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas.

Zu Frankfurt a. M. bei Hrn. L. H. Flersheim, Banquier des Vereins.

Gefertigt durch den leitenden Ausschuss des Vereins.

Mainz, den 9. April 1844.

(gez.) Fürst zu Leiningen.

In Verhinderung des Grafen Carl zu Castell:

Graf zu Tsenburg-Meerholz.

## APPENDIX C.

## ORGANISCHE STATUT DER COLONIZATION.\*

## I. Bedingung der Annahme.

- Art. 1. Um als Mitglied der Colonie aufgenommen zu werden, bedürfen die Einwanderer folgende Urkunden:
1. Einen Geburts-akt.
  2. Einen Copulations-Schein, wenn sie verheirathet sind.
  3. Ein Moralitäts-Zeugniss ihrer früheren Ortsbehörde.
- Art. 2. Bis andere Bestimmungen erfolgen, haben dieselben genügende Mittel nachzuweisen um sowohl die Kosten der Ueberfahrt, als jene des Unterhaltes in den Colonie während der ersten 6 Monate zu decken.
- Art. 3. Dieselben haben sich 3 Tage vor der Abreise an dem Einschiffungsorte einzufinden. Nur vermittelt eines Annahme-Zeugnisses ausgestellt von der Administration, werden sie auf den Fahrzeugen des Vereins zugelassen.
- Art. 4. Die Kosten der Ueberfahrt zerfallen in 2 Classen: *Ueberfahrt mit Verköstigung*, *Ueberfahrt ohne Verköstigung*. Auswanderer, welche der letzten Classe sich ausschliessen, haben zureichenden Vorrath für einen Zeitraum von 2 Monaten—muthmassliche Dauer der Ueberfahrt—nachzuweisen.

## Verbindlichkeiten des Vereins.

- Art. 5. Der Verein giebt jedem Familienhaupte welches nach dessen Colonie in Texas sich begiebt, von seinem Besitzungen 320 acres Landes, amerikanisches Maas, ungefähr 500 Morgen deutsche Massung. Jeder Unverheirathete Einwanderer, der wenigstens 17 Jahre zählt, hat Ansprüche auf die Hälfte dieses Quantum.

Im Augenblick der Abreise wird jedem Einwanderer ein provisorischer Erwerbs-titel zugestellt, welcher später—nach Ausweis des Art. 23—gegen einen definitiven Erwerbstitel ungetauscht wird.

- Art. 6. Es enthält dieser provisorische Erwerbstitel die Ordnungs-Nummer, welche das Loos bezeichnet, auf welches dem Einwanderer Eigenthums-Ansprüche zustehen. Die Einweisung in das bewilligte Grundeigenthum geschieht an Ort und Stelle.
- Art. 7. Entstellt der Verein unentgeltlich die Transport Mittel für Familie und Geräth-schaften der Einwanderer vom Anlandungs-orte nach der Colonie.

Die Fürsorge des Vereins wird—sollte sie es sich dienlich erachten—einen Dampfbootdienst auf den Flüssen herstellen.

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\* *Handbuch*, pp. 90-96.

- Art. 8. Es sorgt der Verein für Währung und Unterkunft der Einwanderer vom Landungspunkte bis zur Ankunft in der Colonie. Für letzere findet keine Rückvergütung statt, wohl aber für erstere.
- Art. 9. Um der Einwanderer Existenz zu erleichtern und denselben die Mittel zur Arbeit zu verschaffen und dem selber die Mittel zur Arbeit zu verschaffen, wird der in der Colonie selbst ein Magazine—einen Bazaar—eröffnen, welches alle nöthigen Lebensbedürfnisse, alle Acker- und Handwerksgeräte, die Sämereien und ueberhaupt alle einer Colonie unentbehrlichen Gegenstände darbietet. Es sorgt der Verein für das zum Ackerbau nöthige Zugvieh. Alle diese Gegenstände sowohl als das Zugvieh werden dem Einwanderer zu dem Preise geliefert, wie solcher sich in der der Colonie zunächst belegenden Stadt herausstellt.
- Art. 10. Natural-Vorschüsse werden denjenigen Einwanderern gewährt werden, welche sich durch Aufführung und Thätigkeit zur Arbeit bei der Colonial-Direction empfohlen haben.  
Als Garantie für Rückzahlung dieser gemachten Vorschüsse haften die Besitzungen der Colonisten.
- Art. 11. Um das Unterbringen der Ackerbau- und industriellen Ereignisse der Colonie zu erleichtern, wird das Comptoir des Vereins diese Produkte für eigene Rechnung und nach dem Kostenden Preise kaufen oder Sorge tragen, sie für Rechnung der Colonisten am Orte selbst oder auswärts gegen eine einfache Commissions-Gebühr von 5 Proc.—die üblichen Umschlags-Kosten nicht eingerechnet—zu verkaufen. Jedenfalls steht es den Colonisten in dessen frei, ihre Produkte direkt und nach Gutdünken zu verkaufen.
- Art. 12. Bis die Bevölkerung zu der Seelenzahl gediehen ist, um selbst die Kosten eines Gottesdienstes zu bestreiten, stellt ihr der Verein eine Kirche zur Verfügung, in welcher die Religions Uebungen der verschiedenen Culten, zu den die Colonisten zählen, gefeiert werden können.  
Eine besondere Anordnung wird die standen für Abhaltungen dieser Uebungen normiren.
- Art. 13. Es wird eine Primär-Schule für die Kinder der Einwanderer ins Leben gerufen. Sie empfangen darin:  
1. Religions-Unterricht,  
2. Unterricht im Lesen,  
3. Unterricht im Schreiben,  
4. Rechnen-Unterricht und endlich,  
5. Unterricht in der deutschen und englischen Sprache.
- Art. 14. Es wird in der Colonie eine ärztliche Hülf-Anstalt, eine Apotheke und ein Reconvalescenten-Haus errichtet werden.

- Art. 15. Es stiftet der Verein eine Spar-Casse in welche die Colonisten ihre Ersparnisse niederlegen können. Sie gewährt 5 Proc. Zinsen. Auf Vorschlag der Colonial-Direction wird der Verein die Art der Einlegung und Zurückziehung der Einlage-Quoten, das Maximum der einzulegender Beträge normiren.
- Art. 16. Unmittelbar nach Ankunft der ersten Einwanderer wird eine Municipal-Einrichtung geschaffen, und die Rechtspflege durch Anordnung competenter Gerichte gesichert werden.
- Art. 17. Bei Arbeiten, welche der Verein für eigene Rechnung ausführen lässt, wird er die Einwanderer vorzugsweise verwenden.

Ein Beschluss der Direction wird dafür einen Preiss-Tarif festsetzen. Es wird der Lohn in Anweisungen auf die Empfänger lautend, ausbezahlt emittirt in Gefolge des § 8 der Vereins Statuten.

Die Casse der Colonial-Direction nimmt diese Anweisungen anzahlungs-statt an; sie werden auf Verlangen des Inhabers gegen Tratten auf die Colonial-casse auf 10 Tage sich ausgewechselt. Da diese Anweisungen einen Repräsentativ-Gehalt bilden, so werden deren niemals für einen  $\frac{2}{3}$  des Capitals der Waaren und des zuchtviehes Werth emittirt werden.

### III. Rechte und Pflichten der Colonisten.

- Art. 18. Jeden Colonist verfügt selbständig und frei über seine Zeit und seine Arbeit.
- Art. 19. Diejenigen, welche für den Verein zu arbeiten angenommen werden, verpflichten sich ihn zu einer Arbeit, deren Dauer durch die Colonial-Direction nach der Jahreszeit und der Art der Arbeit geregelt ist.
- Art. 20. Alle Colonisten sind zur Aufrechterhaltung der Ordnung und Sicherheit in der Colonie mitzuwirken verpflichtet.  
Eine besondere Vorschrift, entworfen von der Colonial-Direction nach dem Bedürfniss der Colonie wird die Art dieser Mitwirkung fest setzen.
- Art. 21. Die Constitution und die Gesetze von Texas reguliren Rechte und Pflichten der Einwanderer als Bürger der Republik.
- Art. 22. Jeder Einwanderer ist verpflichtet, drei aufeinander folgende Jahre auf dem ihm überwiesenen Landstrich zu verbleiben, daselbst eine Wohnung zu errichten und 15 acres Landes zu bebauen und zu umzäunen. Die Kosten der Vermessung der den Colonisten bewilligten Ländereien, sind von denselben zu erstatten.

- Art. 23. Ein Verbal prozess constatirt die Besitz-Einweisung in die bewilligten Ländereien zur Ergänzung des provisorischen Rechts-titels, wovon in Art. 5 oben die Rede ist. Drei Jahre nach dieser Besitzeinweisung werden diese provisorischen Rechtstitel gegen einen definitiven Rechtstitel umgetauscht, welchen die texanische Regierung ertheilt.
- Art. 24. Stossen die bewilligten Ländereien auf daran hinfließende Gewässer so sind die Colonisten verpflichtet einen Durchgang-Weg zu gestatten, dessen Breite der Orts Gebrauch bestimmt. Ebenso sind sie verpflichtet, die zum Strassen- und Canal-Bau und zu andere das allgemeine Beste anstrebenden Bauten erforderliche Ländereien abzulassen.
- Nach Umständen geschehen diese Abtretungen umsonst oder gegen Vergütung.
- Umsonst nämlich, wenn diese Arbeiten in den drei ersten Jahren nach der Besitz-Einweisung und auf nicht angehalten, oder nicht bebauten Ländereien unternommen werden; gegen Vergütung wenn diese Arbeiten nach jenen drei ersten Jahren unternommen werden, oder wenn sie angebaute oder bebaute Ländereien begreifen. Diese Abtretungen gegen Vergütung haben statt gegen gerechte und vorausgehende Schuldloshaltung und gemäss den gesetzlichen Erfordernissen.
- Art. 25. Die Veräusserung der bewilligten Ländereien durch die Einwanderer, kann gemäss besonderer Uebereinkunft—nur erst nach Ablauf eines Zeitraumes von fünf Jahren vom Tage der Besitz-Anweisung an gerechnet, Platz greifen.
- Art. 26. Nichterfüllung der vorbemerkten Bedingungen zieht den Verlust der Rechte der Colonisten auf die ihnen verwilligten Grundstücke und die darauf ruhenden Vortheile und Privilegien nach sich.
- Art. 27. Einwanderer, welche aus der Colonie nach Europa zurück-zukehren beabsichtigen finden; es werden alsdann die Kosten der Rückfahrt nach demselbe Mass-stabe berechnet wie jene der Hinreise.
- Art. 28. Es werden diese Statuten erforderlichen Falls—der texanischen Regierung zur Genehmigung vorgelegt werden.
- Art. 29. Es wird die Colonial-Direction, die einzig und allein das Wohl ihres Colonisten, bei allen ihren Einrichtungen anstrebt, eine Wittwen- und Waisen-Versorgungs-Anstalt ins Leben rufen sobald die Seelenzahl der Colonie einen voraussichtlich günstigen Erfolg garantirt. Sie wird bei deren Verwaltung die Colonisten selbst betheiligen.

- Art. 30. Um den Verkehr des Colonisten mit dem Vaterlande und umgekehrt des letztern mit der Colonie nach Kräfte zu erleichtern, wird die Direction ein Post-Sicherheits-Bureau organisiren, sie wird sich zu diesem Ende mit der Post-Verwaltung der Vereinigten Staaten in Neu-Orleans und mit einem angesehenen Handlungshause daselbst in Beziehung setzen.
- Art. 31. Der Verein wird Vorathshäuser einrichten, worin die Colonisten nach der Erndte ein gewisses um bedeutendes Quantum an Getreibe einliefern und voraus dann die Misserndten oder bei besondern Unglücksfällen, welche einzelne Familien trifft, die nöthigen Vorräthe unentgeltlich verabfolgt werden.

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#### APPENDIX D.

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##### CONSTITUTION OF THE VEREIN.\*

##### General Statut für die Colonial-Niederlassungen des Vereins.

##### ERSTES CAPITEL.

##### Verwaltung.

- Art. 1. Die Ländereien, nach welchen der Verein die Einwanderung richtet, nehmen den Titel Colonial-Niederlassungen an.  
Es wird die General-Versammlung den jeder derselben zu verleihenden Namen bestimmen.
- Art. 2. Es werden diese Niederlassungen im Namen des Vereins verwaltet; jede hat eine besondere Verwaltung. Es besteht die Direction jeder solchen Niederlassung:
1. Aus einem Director und
  2. Aus einem Rathe von fünf Personen.
- Alle werden von dem Comite der Directoren bestellt. Den Vorsitz in Directorial-Rathe hat der Director. Im Falle des Absterbens oder des Verhindertseins des Directors rückt der zum voraus durch das Comite der Directoren bestellte Vice-Director intermistisch an dessen stelle.
- Art. 3. Der Colonial-Rath wird zusammengesetzt:
1. Aus einem Seelsorger,
  2. Aus einem Arzt,
  3. Aus einem Civil-Ingenieur,
  4. Aus einem Rechnungsführer, und
  5. Aus dem Handels-Agenten des Vereins.

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\* *Handbuch*, pp. 82-95.



- Art. 4. Es ist die Dauer der Functionen der Colonial-Agenten nicht bestimmt; das Comite der Directoren normirt die des Directors; sie kann—je nachdem es das Interesse des Vereins erheischt—abgekürzt oder verlängert wurden.
- Art. 5. Es sind die Gehalte des Directors und der Agenten entweder fixe oder proportionelle; Art und Betrag derselben setzt das Comite der Directoren fest.
- Art. 6. Der Colonial-Director verwaltet allein die seiner Oberaufsicht anvertraute Niederlassung, ihm liegen alle Verwaltungshandlungen ob. Die Agenten und Angestellten der Niederlassung stehen unter dessen unmittelbarer Aufsicht, er setzt sie ab, ersetzt sie provisorisch, so wie auch im Falle einer Erledigung, sei es im administrativ-Dienste, sei es in jenem der Direction, unter der Auflage diese Absetzungen und Ernehmungen durch das Comite der Directoren bestätigen zu lassen. Er ist verpflichtet den delegirten Director binnen drei Monaten davon in Kenntniss zu setzen.
- Art. 7. Der Rechnungsführer verwaltet die Casse überwacht den Vollzug der Befehle des Directors und contrasignirt alle Acte der Verwaltung. Er ist Secretär des Directorial-Rathes.
- Art. 8. Er macht dem Directorial-Rathe die Vorschläge und hat bei der Abstimmung darüber beratende Stimme. Der Secretär des Directorial-Rathes führt ein Register über die Anträge, er bemerkt dabei die Verwerfung oder Annahme derselben. Es führt überdies die Direction ein Tagebuch über ihre Arbeiten und Amtshandlungen. Alle drei Monate wird ein summarischer Auszug aus dem Register der Anträge und aus dem Tagebuch der Directoren eingeschickt.

## ZWEITES CAPITEL.

## Fond-Inventarium.

- Art. 9. Der jeder Colonial-Niederlassung bestimmte Fond wird durch die General-Versammlung des Vereins festgesetzt. Es bestimmt der Jahres-Voranschlag der Ausgabe, verglichen mit jedem der muthmasslichen Einnahmen, die in die Colonial-Casse jeder Niederlassung einzuschliessende Summe. Das Comite der Directoren bezeichnet diejenigen finanziellen Anstalten der Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas, zu welchem die Colonial-Direction sich in Beziehung gesetzt hat.
- Art. 10. Um den Verkehr der Ansiedler mit diesen Anstalten zu erleichtern, werden Anweisungen auf den Inhaber lautend geschaffen, gemäss § 8 der Statuten des Vereins. Es werden diese Anweisungen als gangbare Münze angesehen und als solche in den Vereins-Cassen angenommen oder gegen Tratten auf ein Monat Sicht auf die Centrale-Casse des Vereins in Europa, auf Verlangen des Inhabers umgetauscht.

Art. 11. Alle drei Monate lässt der Colonial-Director eine Aufnahme des Cassenbestandes so wohl, als der Ausgabe anfertigen und in jedem Jahre am 31. December werden alle Rechnungen abgeschossen. Es wird zu derselben Epoche durch des Directors Fürsorge ein Inventarium über den Vermögenstand jeder Niederlassung aufgenommen.

Im Monat August jedes Jahres entwirft der Colonial-Director einen Vorschlag über Einnahme und Ausgabe der seiner Oberaufsicht anvertrauten Niederlassungen für das folgende Jahr um denselben der Genehmigung des Directorial-Comites vorzulegen. Es werden alle diese Urkunden, jede zu ihrer Zeit, dem Comite der Directoren eingesandt.

#### DRITTES CAPITEL.

##### Anordnung der Arbeiten.

Art. 12. Unmittelbar nach seiner Ankunft an Ort und Stelle lässt der Director falls dies nicht schon früher geschehen ist, den Plan der Ländereien aufnehmen, auf welchen die Colonial-Niederlassung zu gründen ist. Es werden diese Ländereien in Loose von 640 Acres eingetheilt jedes Loos erhält eine Ordnungs-Nummer. Dem Director liegt es ob, die tauglichste Stelle zur Anlegung einer Stadt und von Dörfern ausfindig zu machen, er besorgt die Verloosung der Bauplätze, nachdem er das Gutachten des Directorial-Comites eingeholt hat. Er lässt Vertheidigungs-Anstalten aufführen wie er solche zur Sicherheit der Ansiedler nöthig erachtet.

Art. 13. Es setzt sich der Director Namens des Vereins, in direkte Beziehung zu der Regierung und deren Agenten, bezüglich aller des Colonials-Interesse berührenden Einrichtungen.

#### VIERTELS CAPITEL.

##### Einweisung der Einwander.

Art. 14. Bei Ankunft der Einwanderer am Landungsplatz werden dieselben unmittelbar der Colonial-Niederlassung gewiesen:

Waggons werden zur Verfügung der Frauen und Kinder gestellt und dienen zugleich zum Transport der Effecten der Einwanderer.

Die Direction wird Fürsorge tragen, vom Anlandungspunkte bis zur Colonie, für Ernährung der Ankömmlinge zu sorgen.

Art. 15. Um den Einwanderern Unterkunft während der Nacht zu verschaffen, werden Zelte aufgeschlagen, bis sie ihre Wohnungen beziehen können.

Art. 16. In der Colonial-Niederlassung angekommen wird jede Familie in den Besitz ihres Ländereieen Looses eingewiesen; die Nummer der Reihenfolge in den Registern des Vereins unter welcher er eingetragen worden ist, entspricht der Nummer des Looses welches ihm gehört.

Ein über diese Einweisung aufgenommener Verbalprozess constatirt die Besitz-Einweisung; es giebt derselbe Verbalprozess zugleich an, ob durch Vereins Fürsorge auf dem dem Einwanderer überwiesenen Loose Gebäulichkeiten aufgeführt sind.

Art. 17. So weit Zeit und Umstände es erlauben, lässt die Direction Gebäulichkeiten aufführen; es werden diese Gebäulichkeiten nach einem Maasstabe und in der Art ausgeführt, dass ihr Kostenbetrag nicht fl. 60 übersteigt.

Art. 18. Der Taglohn der Arbeiter, welche im Dienste des Vereins in dem Colonial-Niederlassungen verwendet werden, wird durch die Direction festgesetzt; es wird dieser Taglohn jede Woche in Anweisungen auf den Empfänger lautend wovon Art. 10 spricht, oder durch Lieferungen bezahlt.

#### FUENFTES CAPITEL.

##### Beziehungen der Ansiedler zu der Direction.

Art. 19. Es verschafft die Direction jedem Ansiedler ein fertig gebautes Haus oder die Materiellen zur Aufführung eines solchen; sie giebt ihm die Mittel zur Umzäunung und Umbauung von 15 Acres Landes; so wie die zur landwirthschaftlichen Einrichtung erforderlichen Ochsen, Kühe und Pferde.

Es werden alle diese Lieferungen jedem Ansiedler vorschussweise gemacht.

Art. 20. Jedem Ansiedler wird eine eigene Rechnung in den Registern der Colonial-Direction eröffnet, es werden ihn darin alle Vorschüsse zur Last geschrieben welche ihm—sei es unter welcher Benennung es immer wolle—geleistet worden sind. Interessen für das erste Jahr werden ihm keine berechnet.

Die Rückzahlung findet zur Erndtezeit statt oder auch früher, wenn der Ansiedler so vorziehen sollte; es nimmt die Direction von dem Schuldner Felderzeugnisse nach dem laufenden Preise von Zahlungsstatt an.

Art. 21. Es haftet der Direction für diese Vorschüsse das Eigenthum der Schuldner.

#### SECHSTES CAPITEL.

##### Politischer Zustand der Ansiedlungen.

Art. 22. Es sind die Colonial-Niederlassungen so wohl als die Ansiedler den Gesetzen von Texas unterworfen.

- Art. 23. Um den Vollzug dieser Gesetze sowohl, als die Unterdrückung von Verbrechen und Vergehen zu sichern, und um zugleich Austände und Streitigkeiten welche sich zwischen den Ansiedlern untereinander oder zwischen ihnen und dem Vereine erheben könnten, auszugleichen und zu schlichten, wird die Colonial-Direction bei der Regierung die Anstellung von Richtern, die Herstellung kompetenter Gerichte, Ernennung und Installation einer Local-Behörde, alles entnommen aus dem Personal der Ansiedlung selbst, beantragen.
- Art. 24. Die Direction wird es sich angelegen sein lassen, regelmässige Civilstands-Register zu eröffnen, Geburts-, Trau- und Sterb-Register aufzulegen.
- Art. 25. Es werden—in allgemeinen Interesse—all nämlichen Ansiedler vom 17. bis 50. Jahre eine Stadt Miliz bilden, um für die Sicherheit von Personen und Eigenthum zu wachen.  
Die Direction überwacht deren Organization den texanischen Gesetzen entsprechend.
- Art. 26. Eine Zeitung für Handel und Ackerbau, wird—wenn erst die Bevölkerung zahlreich genug ist—alle allgemeinen und Sonder-Interessen der Niederlassung besprechen; sie wird die Ansiedler über ihre Pflichten als Ackerbauer und Bürger aufklären.

#### SIEBENTES CAPITEL.

##### Gemeinnützige Anstalten.

- Art. 27. Der Verein—unter Fürsorge der Direction—wird öffentliche Anstalten ins Leben rufen; welche das Gemeinwohl bedingt.  
Sie werden sich nach der Seelenzahl und dem Bedürfniss der Bevölkerung richten.
- Art. 28. Es sind diese Anstalten namentlich:
1. Eine Kirche, in welcher der Simultan-Gottesdienst gefeiert wird, so lange die Bevölkerung nicht zahlreich genug ist, um die Kosten der verschiedenen Culten, zu denen sie zählt zu bestreiten.  
Es wird in dieser Beziehung ein Ordnungs-Statut entworfen von der Colonial-Direction, und bestätigt von der Regierung, die Bedingungen dieser Anordnung festsetzen.
  2. Eine oder mehrere Freischulen, wo die Kinder beiderlei Geschlechts eine moralische Ausbildung erhalten, es wird ihnen darin Unterricht ertheilt im Lesen, Schreiben, Rechnen, in der deutschen und englischen Sprache.

3. Eine Kranken-Verpflegungs Anstalt verbunden mit einer Apotheke, Kranke, die zur Aufnahme gemeldet werden, werden darin unentgeltlich aufgenommen und sollen dort alle mögliche Heil- und Linderungs-Mittel finden.
4. Das Haus der Colonial-Direction, wo der Colonial-Rath seinen Sitz haben wird, wo sich die Archive der Colonial-Niederlassungen und provisorisch das Civilstands-Bureau der Niederlassung befinden werden.

#### ACHTES CAPITEL.

##### Vorkehrungen den Handel Betreffend.

- Art. 29. Der Verein eröffnet, unter Leitung der Colonial-Direction, ein Magazin oder einen Bazar für alle Verbrauchs-Gegenstände und Arbeitsgeräthschaften, welche das tägliche Bedürfniss der Ansiedler erheischt. Die Direction wird sich streng angelegen sein lassen, das ihre Magazine stets die zweckentsprechenden Vorräthe, wie solche das Bedürfniss der Bevölkerung mit sich bringt, darbieten.
- Art. 30. Sie erzieht Vieh, um gute Racen herzustellen und den Ansiedlern den erforderlichen Viehstand zu verschaffen.  
Die Preise von Waaren und Vieh werden stets in Einklang mit den Cursen des zunächst gelegenen Marktes gehalten werden.
- Art. 31. Sie nimmt—sei es auf laufende Rechnung, sei es gegen Baarkauf und nach übereingekommenen Preise—alle Ackerbau- und industriellen Erzeugnisse der Ansiedler an. Es werden die laufenden Rechnungen jedes Jahr nach der Erndte forgestellt.
- Art. 32. Die nach dem ersten Jahre des Aufenthaltes in der Niederlassung den Ansiedler gemachten Vorschüsse werden mit 5 Proc. verzinset.
- Art. 33. Es bezieht die Colonial-Direction alle zum Bedürfnisse ihrer Niederlassungen erforderlichen Waaren entweder direkt aus Deutschland oder aus Amerika; ebenso befördert sie nach der oder jeder anderen Gegend die Ackerbau-Erzeugnisse, welche sie durch Tausch oder Kauf erworben hat.

#### NEUNTES CAPITEL.

##### Industrielle Anstalten.

- Art. 34. Je nachdem es das Bedürfniss der Niederlassungen mit sich bringt, werden industrielle Anstalten ins Leben gerufen; es setzt die Direction den Wirkungskreis jeder derselben fest und legt dem Comite der Directoren den Plan und die Mittel zur Ausführung vor.

Jedenfalls wird jede Niederlassung besitzen :

Eine Fruchtmühle,

Eine Schneidemühle,

Eine Mühle, um die Baumwolle zu reinigen.

- Art. 35. Die mit Leitung dieser Anstalten beauftragten Agenten und Angestellten, sind gemäss Art. 6 der Oberaufsicht des Directors unterworfen.
- Art. 36. Wenn die Colonial-Direction, nachdem sie das Gutachten des Comites der Directoren eingeholt hat, Strassen und Canäle anlegt, Brücken baut und anders das Gemeinwohl austrebende Verbesserungen vornimmt, so wird sie nach Art. 24 des Colonial-Statuts, rücksicht der Berechtigung der Ländereien richten.

#### ZEHNTES CAPITEL.

##### Verfügungen bezüglich der Ländereien.

- Art. 37. Es werden des Vereins Ländereien in der Art eingetheilt; dass diejenigen, welche sie nicht amsonst verleiht, zwischen diejenigen zu liegen kommen, welche verliehen und in Anbau genommen sind.
- Art. 38. Das Comite der Directoren, auf Vorschlag des Colonial-Directors, setzt den Preis der Ländereien und jenen der Bauplätze der Städte und Dörfe, die Art der Zahlung, die Bedingungen der Verkäufe und den Zeitpunkt, wann dieselbe beginnen sollen, fest.
- Art. 39. Es finden die Verkäufe im Namen des Vereins durch den Colonial-Director statt, es werden die dessfälligen Urkunden durch den Rechnungsführer contrasignirt.

#### ELFTES CAPITEL.

##### Allgemeine Verfügungen.

- Art. 40. Wenn der Verein mehrere Niederlassungen begründet hat, wird er einen General-Commissair bestellen und diesen mit der Controlle aller Niederlassungen und mit jener der Wirksamkeit jeder einzelnen beauftragen.
- Art. 41. Es werden vorstehenden Bestimmungen alle nöthig erachtete Verbesserungen, nach Genehmigung des Comite der Directoren hinzugefügt werden.

APPENDIX E.

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PETITION OF COUNT CARL VON CASTELL TO THE DUKE OF NASSAU.

(A. D. No. St. M. 2674.)

Dem Herren Grafen Carl von Castell zu Mainz wird auf sein bei seiner Durchlaucht dem Herzog, eingereichtes Gesuch um Genehmigung der Bildung einer Gesellschaft, welche den Zweck hat, den in den Freistaat Texas einwandernden Deutschen Hülfe und Schutz zu gewähren, eröffnet, dass Seine Herzogliche Durchlaucht weder bei der Bildung dieser Gesellschaft noch bei deren Versammlung im Herzogthum etwas zu erinnern gefunden, und die Genehmigung deshalb gerne ertheilt haben.

Wiesbaden, den 3. Mai, 1844.

Herzoglich Nassauisches Staats Ministerium.

In Auftrag des Staats-Ministers der Ministerial Referendar:  
Geheimrath.

unterz: Vollpracht.  
vrdt: Stein.

## THE COMMUNITY AT BETHEL, MISSOURI, AND ITS OFFSPRING AT AURORA, OREGON.

(Continued.)

WILLIAM G. BEK, Ph. D.

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Soon after the colonists came to Bethel they erected a steam burr-mill. All the shafts and things of this nature were made of hard wood. They also established a distillery, a tannery and a colony laundry. As all these institutions needed much hot water. For the sake of economy, a large boiler was purchased for the mill and this was made to supply the other three industries with hot water. Then the problem of how to convey the water to these various buildings had to be met. Metal pipes could not be afforded nor were they easily obtainable. Here the colonists showed their inventiveness. They took long, straight beams, about twenty feet in length and a foot or a foot and a half in diameter at the larger end and, with a specially constructed bit, they drilled a two-inch hole through the entire beam. By hollowing out the larger end and tapering the other they effected a joint which by wrapping with flax or hemp dipped in tar they rendered tolerably water-tight. From this one illustration it must be apparent that these people were very inventive indeed. Many of the Germans whom Keil gathered around him and especially the former adherents of Rapp and Leon were skilled artisans. At every turn one meets evidences of their aptitude. Although the product of their labor is sometimes crude, it nevertheless shows what they were able to do. Apparently there were master workmen for every kind of labor, but especially apt were they in working in iron and wood. The old mill and the distillery were destroyed by fire, but a part of the old tannery stands to this day. Here, too, one is impressed with the inventiveness of the workmen. In those days all the fixtures and all the tools had to be made by hand. Although they pursued this industry only in a



small way, they nevertheless gained considerable proficiency in tanning. Their shoes were carefully made and strong, and many outsiders, especially those who owned slaves, purchased their workshoes here. In those days deer were found in large numbers in North Missouri. Their hides furnished gloves which were made under the supervision of the head glovemaker, Adolph Pflugk. These gloves are said to have been of excellent make. That they really must have been of superior quality and workmanship is attested by the fact that in 1858 they took a first premium at an exhibition in New York City.<sup>6</sup>

For the operation of the tannery much oak bark was necessary. The colonists did not like to rob their own trees of their bark, so whenever they ascertained that an outsider contemplated a clearing, they made him the proposition to hew down his large oak trees on condition that he would allow them to peel off the bark for their own use. When such permission was obtained, all men, regardless of the trade they plied in the colony, went to the woods, performed this task in common and conveyed the bark in huge loads to Bethel. Thus they accomplished their task quickly and also gave to their neighbors a laudible example of forest protection, which lesson, however, passed unheeded in this land of plenty.

In the village smithy, which is now owned and operated by a blacksmith who is a direct descendent of the colony, I was shown all sorts of tools that were made in the colony days. They are neat and seem to be better in many respects than the factory-made article of to-day.

For the making of linseed oil the colonists resorted to the following device: A very large stone was rendered perfectly smooth and laid down horizontally. On this stone rested two circular stones, each sixty-four inches in diameter and twelve inches in thickness, which were fastened by a strong axle to a heavy rod in the middle. To this horses or mules were hitched and made to roll the heavy stones over the horizontal stone, the horses going around in a circle very much as they do in turning a cane-mill.

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties," p. 863.

The flaxseed was spread on the flat stone and the circular stones, moving over this, crushed the flaxseed into a pulp, from which the oil was later extracted by intense pressure. One of these stones now rests over the public well in Bethel, the other is said to be used for a similar purpose in Shelbina.

The beautiful and abundant walnut timber of the North Valley furnished the cabinet-maker and joiner splendid material with which to work. For these frugal people not only built their own houses, but also made their own furniture.

From their flax fields they obtained linen and from their flocks of sheep they gained wool for their clothes. At first the spinning wheel and the hand-loom performed this labor, but later machinery, run by steam, supplanted them.

The colony hatter made felt hats from the fleece of lambs and the fur of the rabbit. In brief, they made everything they needed, excepting drugs and medicines, all in a small way, but sufficient for their own use.

At Hebron, which was once a cluster of colony houses, but which is now represented by two lone farmhouses, is located the old colony cemetery. Here the resting places of the honest toilers are marked by humble limestone tombs, made by the colonists themselves. It seemed to me that of all the manifestations of skill in the colony, these memorials to the departed show least care and ability. Perhaps the concern for the living absorbed their time so completely that the dead could not claim much attention.

Sharing things in common, it was but natural that they should provide common places for the protection of their live stock. For their horses a huge barn, one hundred and twenty by forty-eight feet, was constructed at Bethel. In style it was what is commonly called a Pennsylvania bank-barn, with a basement-like arrangement where the animals were kept and with an enormous loft for the hay and grain. There was also a separate barn for the protection of the work-cattle, also an immense pigsty, and at Hebron a large barn for the cows and stock-cattle. Thus they took the most excellent care of their animals and in this respect they should have been an illustrious example to the early

Shelby County farmer, who left his live stock in the open the year around.

For Dr. Keil, their leader, the colonists erected a large dwelling in Elim, which is one and a fourth miles from Bethel. This house is still standing and seems to be in a perfect state of preservation. In the days when this structure was erected, it must have been a veritable palace among the houses of that region. It is constructed of brick and stone, fifty-two by thirty-six feet in size and two and a half stories high. Its hardwood finish would be the pride of a New York millionaire, but of course in those days it was the only timber obtainable. It is said that Keil protested against this enormous expenditure of time and labor. But his followers who truly idolized him would not suffer him to dwell in a house as humble as their own. It is further stated that Keil, whether for effect or some other reason, lived in this palatial residence only for a short time. Against the protest of his followers, he moved into a simple brick house and at one time even left Bethel to dwell in an humble wooden shack in Nineveh. Keil was ever a roving, restless man who liked to "play to the galleries."

Another large building at Bethel which deserves to be mentioned here is the one which the colonists called "Das grosse Haus," the large house. In one part of it the colony store was kept. Another part represented the hotel, famed for its excellent meals. The rest of the building was designated as a dwelling place for those of the colony who had no kin with whom to reside. Most of the inhabitants of this house were unmarried men.

There remains still another form of building to be mentioned here. It is the old German bake-oven which stood out in the yard. One of them is still standing. It is a rude structure of stone and brick. To bake the bread a huge fire was built in this oven. When the brick and stone had become thoroughly heated, the fire and ashes were withdrawn and the fireplace thoroughly swept. Then the dough, which was contained in small baskets, about a foot in diameter, made of hickory shavings, was placed into the space where the fire had been and allowed to bake in the heat which radiated from the superheated brick.

All the manufacturing at Bethel and Nineveh was carried on in a small way only, the purpose being to supply the colony with everything needed. However, of some things there was a surplus, and this was sold to outsiders. The chief support of the society was agriculture, for which the surrounding land afforded ample opportunity. At the time of dissolution the society owned 3536 acres of land in Shelby County and 731 acres in Adair County. The land in Adair County was not so valuable as that in Shelby, parts of it being subject to inundations. But the chief cause why this land was bought in Adair County was the presence of coal in this region. Then, too, it was believed that the Chariton River would furnish much needed water-power.

There was apparently but little in the Bethel community to break the monotony of everyday life. An occasional dance, a picnic, a festival occasion, as described in another place, and weekly band concerts seem to have been about all the diversions for the weary workers. To be sure, in their band they had a source of pleasure which their neighbors were forced to do without. To judge from reports, the work of this band was excellent. Under the able management and direction of Henry Finck, this organization gained an enviable reputation. Their instruments are said to have been very fine. Among the curios which are shown to the inquisitive visitor is an old bass drum which was made by the colonists themselves, and which is still in perfect condition. Of course, we expect more from a settlement of this nature, but when it is considered how little diversion other settlements of that day had, it will be agreed that Bethel lived in pretty gay style.

In matters educational the colonists did not have very great advantages. A common school was of course early established and for years was under the management of Moses Miller. In later years Karl Ruge, a college-bred man, took charge and conducted the work till he moved to Oregon with Keil. After this some women taught, much in the manner in which the work had been begun; that is, all the work was in the English language, although all the members were German. But few aspired beyond the most elementary training. Keil himself was opposed to higher

education, holding that it was non-essential in making good workers for the society. His position is made clear in the interview which Nordhoff quotes in the work above cited, p. 317. There it appears that a young man would be permitted to go to college, at the expense of the colony, provided he acquired some knowledge which would bring immediate benefit to the colony. If he simply chose to acquire a broader view of things by means of a liberal course of training, he was not permitted to go. On the whole, Keil's attitude toward the intellectual life of his charge leaves much to be wished for. In fact, his severity and his autocratic rule had a stultifying and dwarfing effect on the minds of his people. As some outsiders have told me, he did not wish his members to know too much, nor to mingle with the world too freely, for thereby they would lose some of their docility. Men with considerable learning came into the society, as was shown above, but in the colony the young people did not get beyond the training in the three Rs.

The German language was neglected in the school because there seemed to be no immediate pecuniary return arising from the use of this tongue. The most natural result was that the German language lost its hold on the younger generation. When I speak of German here, I mean the classical High German. The people at Bethel still speak German and even delight in doing so when they meet among themselves. But in a great many instances it is the rather perverted speech of the Pennsylvania German, some of the people at Bethel being descendents of Germans who came to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. To this lack of interest in German education is to be attributed the abandonment of the German Methodist Church in Bethel.

In an effort to become Americanized some of the names were distinctly anglicized. Possibly the most striking cases of such changes are found in the cases of John Knight, whose German name was Johann Knecht, and of Miley, whose German name was Maile.

Politically, most of the Bethel Germans are Republicans. Bethel Township is the only Republican township in Shelby County. During the Civil War these Germans maintained a strict

neutrality. This was done upon the advice and strict order of Dr. Keil, who, knowing that the entire adjoining country was on the side of the Confederacy, feared a devastation of their property and an annihilation of his charge. An interesting story is told in "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties," p. 866. A body of Confederate sympathizers under Porter and Greene came down on Bethel. The colony, being apprised of their coming, hid many of their things. Nevertheless the troops foraged some, but they did no personal injury. When later on a body of Union soldiers came through that region, they asked that the colonists should name to them their neighbors who were Confederate sympathizers, in order that they might forage among them and leave their friends unmolested. No, said they, these men are our neighbors and our friends, with whom we live in harmony and peace; you shall not molest them. If you need food, we have plenty; help yourselves. If you need feed for your animals, we have enough of that also; take it, but leave our friends undisturbed. It is said that neither Union nor Confederate soldiers, coming near Bethel after this incident, would disturb a people as generous and peace-loving.

It may be of interest to see in what manner Keil requested his people to observe a strict neutrality during the war and what attitude he took towards the great struggle. The following quotations from his letters will throw some light on this subject:

Aurora, August 24, 1861.

Mit Missfallen habe ich vernommen, dass ein Theil der jungen Mannschaft in Bethel durch Aufrichtung einer Union Flagge am 4ten Juli eine drohende Gefahr über die ganze Gemeinde gebracht. Wir sind zwar alle Union Männer und durch unsern Eid zur Erhaltung der Constitution verbunden, dennoch haben wir mit dem gegenwärtigen Conflict zwischen den Amerikanern selbst nur dann etwas zu thun, wenn wir vom government zur Erfüllung unserer Bürgerpflicht aufgefordert werden. Bie dem gegenwärtigen Krieges-zustande der politischen Partheien in Missouri ist es daher ganz leichtsinnig und unverständlich, unnötiger Weise die Farben unserer Parthei zur Schau zu tragen und dadurch gewisser Massen die Feindseligkeit der weit stärkeren Gegenparthei herauszufordern. Es ist ein Glück, dass diese jungen Bürger in der 11. Stunde noch zur Erkenntniss gekommen sind, sonst hätten sie die ganze Gemeinde ins Verderben bringen können. Mögen sie sich diesen Vorfall zur

Warnung dienen lassen und künftig dem Rathe der Aeltesten mehr Achtung und Gehorsam beweisen.

Aurora, September 29, 1861.

Ich habe schon in meinen früheren Briefen darauf hingewiesen, dass wir als eingewanderte Bürger mit dem gegenwärtigen Zwispalt unter den Amerikanern selbst gar nichts wieter zu schaffen haben, als unserm Bürgereid getreu zu sein, und also nur wenn die Regierung dazu auffordert, zur thätigen Unterstützung derselben verpflichtet sind. In dem unvermeidlichen Verkehr mit beiden Partheien ist daher die grösste Vorsicht und Klugheit zu beobachten, und wenn Einzelne unter Euch dennoch durch pralerische und unverständige Reden und Handlungen den Partheihass auf die ganze Gemeinde lenken sollten, so müsst Ihr dieselben ernstlich vermahnen und warnen und wann sie nicht folgen, ist es Eure Pflicht, solche gänzlich aus der Betheler Gemeinde zu verbannen.

Aurora, March 18th, 1862.

Die Kriegstrouble in Missouri sollen sich nach den letzten Nachrichten bedeutend zu Gunsten der Union-Männer geändert haben, so dass die verlangten Kriegsdienste unserer jungen Mannschaft zur Dämpfung der Rebellion hoffentlich nicht mehr erforderlich sind, sollte es dennoch der Fall sein, so könnte wenigstens ein Theil der jungen Mannschaft zur See hierher, dirigiert werden, falls die vorgerückte Jahreszeit eine Reise über Land nicht mehr gestatten sollte. Denn mir gefällt die Theilnahme unserer jungen Mannschaft an dem activen Kriegsdienste eben so wenig wie sie Euch zu gefallen scheint, und die bevorstehende Auswanderung wird alsdann einen hinreichenden Grund zur Ablehnung dieser Pflichtleistung abgeben.

One of the most perplexing things in the preparation of this study is the fact that it is absolutely impossible to obtain an accurate account of their business transactions. The fact is that only very few accounts were kept and these few have been carelessly dealt with and have apparently been lost. Nordhoff seems to have had the same experience. He says, concerning the Oregon branch of this society, on p. 315:

"I asked the purchasing agent about the book-keeping of the place; he replied, 'As there is no trading, few accounts are needed. Much of what we raise is consumed on the place, and of what the people use no account is kept. Thus if a family needs flour, it goes to the store and gets what is required. If butter, it goes to the store in the same way. We need only to keep account of what we sell of our own products, and of what we buy from abroad, and these accounts check each other. When we make money, we invest it in land.'"

For the reasons thus given it is impossible to arrive even at a comparative estimate of the financial condition and the extent of the business transactions of the society. If the statement is true, that they invested their savings in land, we shall yet have a chance of seeing something of their financial condition, when we discuss the settlement of the business affairs at the time of the dissolution of the community.

All the transactions of the society were based on confidence. The land was deeded to individuals, who held it in trust for the society; the foremen of the various industries made no reports, and even after the removal of Keil to Oregon, the trustees at Bethel did not have to render him an account of their transactions. The most perfect confidence and trust existed among the members of the colony.

In some accounts of the Bethel Society it is stated that the members were not allowed to marry outside of the colony. Upon my investigation as to the truth of this statement it was most emphatically gainsaid by the surviving members and incidents were quoted where such marriages had been contracted without any interference whatever on the part of the superiors.

At various times I have alluded to the Aurora, Oregon, colony as a branch of the Bethel Society. It was already stated that Keil was a very restless man. The region around Bethel soon became too thickly settled. He feared that his people would become contaminated by contact with the "world," as he called it. As is well known, the California gold fever made known the far-distant West to all the world. Keil became very much interested in the West and resolved to send a delegation of his men out there to investigate the Oregon country in particular, to see in how far it would suit the conditions of his colony. He entertained the hope that out there he could take his people and that there, uncontaminated by outsiders, he could continue to rule them. Accordingly, some time in 1854, the following men were sent to the Pacific coast to look up a favorable location for the colony: Christian Giesy (who also took his wife with him), Adam Schuele, Joseph Knight, John Stauffer, Sr., John Stauffer, Jr., Michael Schaefer, and John Genger. These men reported favor-



ably on a region, not in Oregon, but in the Willapa Valley, in Washington Territory.

In the spring of 1855 serious preparations were begun for the transcontinental journey. Fortunately I am in possession of the complete account of the tedious trip across the plains. Being dictated by Keil himself, it must be taken at its full value. It teems with interesting and thrilling incidents. About the last part of May or the first part of June the train of seventy-five wagons left Bethel for the western coast. Other trains followed later on. One, in 1863, was made up of forty wagons. Smaller groups of men went by water, crossing the continent at Panama. After five months of travel, 'mid the greatest difficulties, the first train of immigrants reached the region in Washington Territory which had been designated by the deputies.

The following two letters were dictated by Keil on his journey across the plains, while the third one was written after they arrived in Washington. These letters give a detailed account of the long and difficult journey:

(Erhalten Aug. 22)

Am Ufer des Platt Rivers, 10 Meilen von  
Fort Kearney, den 25. June 1855.

Lieber Bruder Finck,

Seit dem Abschied von Ninive bis St. Joseph ist unsere Reise sehr gut von Statten gegangen. Wir hatten abwechselnd Regen, welches für unser Vieh sehr zuträglich war. Was die Schwierigkeiten anbelangt, war, dass wir oft unser Vieh, so lange wir in Missouri waren, mühsam zusammen suchen mussten. Wie dir bekannt, schlechte Road und oft verfenzt. Doch haben wir alles glücklich bis beim Wagenblast gebracht, wo wir ein und ein halb Tage am Missouri-Platt River cämpten, weil sich Wagenblast entschloss, mit seiner Familie mit uns zu reisen. Den zweiten Samstag von Ninive aus, setzten wir über den Missouri River mit 25 Wägen, die zu unserem Train gehören und Kämpten acht Meilen weiter an den Bluffs. Hier war der heisse Wunsch erfüllt, dass wir die Grenzen Missouri's passiert hatten. Da trat aber ein ganz anderer Geist ein, alle Angst und Furcht, die in der Menschenherzen war, hat sich zu mir gemacht, Fremdlinge, respectable Männer, haben mich gewarnt und gebeten, ich solle mit meinen Leuten in solcher grausamen Zeit nicht über die Plains gehen; dieweil die Berichte so schlimm wären, dass es jeden Mann von uns kosten würde. Es hätten sich 8000 Indianer zwischen Kearney und Laramie versammelt, hätten die

Emigranten ausgezogen, Vieh und alles weggenommen, und die Männer retour geschickt, hätten das Fort Laramie eingenommen und alles Militair getödet; aber niemand konnte uns bestimmte Nachricht über diese Thatsachen geben. Ich stand ein paar Minuten still und wusste nicht was ich zu alle dem sagen sollte. Der Geist trat zu mir und sagte zu mir, ob ich das Ende wollte anders beschliessen als ich mein Lebtage alles andere bevor hindurch gegangen wäre. So ging ich neben dem Camp auf einen hohen Hügel zu beten, fand aber keinen Anhaltspunkt der mich befriedigte; ich machte eine kleine Pausc und der Geist trat zu mir und sprach. Wann das nicht genug ist, was Du gethan hast die Zeit Deines Lebens bis hieher, alle Deine Feinde zu schlagen, so wird kein ander Opfer für Dich gefunden werden; und es stieg auf ein wehmüthiges Gefühl zu allen meinen Brüdern und Schwestern, und schwur dreimal bei mir selber, die erste Feindes-Macht die sich zu mir und meinen Leuten nahte, müsste stürzen, und wenn (sie sich) zu Tausenden versammelt hätten, und als ich retour kam zum Camp, war alles verschwunden bei mir und allen denen, die mir angehören und mein Wunsch war, wenn nur gleich ein Tausend und mehr Feinde sich thäten versammeln, denn ich fühlte dass Tausende und mehr im selben Augenblick vor Einem Blick stürzen müssten. Am Montag traten wir die Reise über die Plains an. Wir fanden einen kleinen Kinderwagen, mit Provision bepackt, am Wege stehen, wussten nicht wem er angehörte; den nächsten Tag fanden wir den Wagen wieder auf unserer Reise, aber keinen Mann dabei; ich liess 2 Reiter dabei zurückbleiben, befahl ihnen, die umliegende Gegend zu durchforschen, um den Mann aufzufinden, ob er vielleicht im Grass in der Nähe schlief. Ich ging mit den Wagen voran und sagte, 'wenn ich ihn finde will ich Euch Nachricht senden.' Als wir 4 Meilen fort waren, kam er quer über die Prairie herüber, es war ein deutscher Schlosser, der erst ein halbes Jahr in Amerika war und wie ein Schaf auf den Plains umher irrte. Ich fragte ihn, wo er hin wollte? Die Antwort war, er wüsste es nicht. Während ich ihn noch mehr fragen wollte, fiel er ohnmächtig hin. Ich nahm ihn auf, wie ein Vater seinen Sohn. Er ist ein guter Bube und hilft das Vieh treiben.

Wir bekamen Nachricht von Gefährlichkeiten von einer Station zur andern, die Woche, bevor wir nach dem Big Blue River kamen, waren 1500 Indianer dort versammelt und der Trader an der Blue sagte, dass sie jetzt an der Little Blue kämpften, und zwei Scalps von einem Train haben wollten, weil ein anderer Train der zu diesem Train gehört, sie beleidigt hätte. Derselbige Train kämpfte am Big Blue bei uns, und die Leute hatten grosse Angst. Es sind ein Paar hundert Wägen, die sich hinter uns befinden, durch welche wir hindurch gegangen sind. Wir sind immer ein bis zwei Tagereisen vor ihnen. Sie haben sich alle an uns wollen anschliessen, haben aber noch keinen aufgenommen, denn wir sind ohne Furcht gemacht, darum gehen wir voran, und haben weder an dem einen oder dem

anderen gefährlichen Ort etwas angetroffen, das uns verhindert hätte, ja wir haben noch gar keinen Indianer zu sehen gekriegt, es scheint, dass ein besonderes Gefühl über sie gekommen ist, dass sie sich gar nicht an der Road aufhalten.

Bevor wir am Platte kamen, haben wir Tausende und Tausende von Buffalo Ochsen gesehen. Ich bin mitten unter sie hinein und habe einen angeschossen und alle Hunde jagten hinterher. Jaques Weise eilte mit seinem Esel nach und hat 5 Mal mit einem Revolver auf ihn geschossen, so dass wir ihn denselben Abend holen wollten. Sie trauten sich aber nicht, denselben Abend den Platz wieder zu finden und gingen am andern Morgen dorthin, hielten sich aber zuvor mit andern Buffalos auf, so dass sie an den Platz nicht gekommen sind, denn wir kämpften 5 Meilen davon. Gestern Abend kamen wir an den Platte, wo sich auf unserm Camp-Platz ein Grabmal befindet, und an welcher Stätte Wilhelms Wagen hält. Der Wilhelm führt voran, auch jedermann hat diese Fuhre besonders ins Auge genommen; doch hat niemand gefragt, was wir in diesem Wagen haben. Er befindet sich auch gerade so ohne Spiritus hinzuzugießen, als wir ihn von Bethel haben mitgenommen. Unsere Fuhren sind alle so als wie wir fortgegangen sind. Das Vieh ist besser im Stande als es war. Der Ruge hat eine Axe zerbrochen, Link hat aber eine neue gemacht welche besser ist als die alte. Wir haben noch alles. Es fehlt uns kein Hund. Die Hunde erlauben Niemanden auf den Camp-Platz zu kommen.

Wenn ich die Trompete blase ist es ein Aufruhr, wie ein Erdbeben. Willi geht voran und wir folgen ihm. Einen herzlichen Gruss von uns Allen an Euch. Lebt wohl bis auf Wiedersehen.

The Wilhelm to whom the writer refers is the deceased William Keil, Jr., whose body they took across the plains.<sup>9</sup>

Fort Laramie, d. 12. Juni 1855.

Liebe Brüder und Schwestern!

Ich habe Euch von unserer Reise bis Fort Kearney in meinem Brief berichtet und dieses geht nun von Kearney bis Fort Laramie. Wir haben sehr gute Reise gehabt, Menschen und Vieh sind gesund geblieben, haben noch alles, was wir mitgenommen haben, mit Ausnahme einer Kuh, die wir verloren, wofür wir aber einen guten Schafflochen von einem andern Train wieder gefunden, den wir an 400 Meilen fortgebracht, ohne dass Nachfrage nach ihm gekommen. Wir haben mehrere Buffalos geschossen, so dass von einem jeden die Hälfte musste liegen bleiben. viel 100 Mann nicht im Stande sind, einen Buffalo aufzufuttern. Einer unserer Hunde ist an einem trad-

<sup>9</sup> There is evidently a mistake in the dating of the following letter. It is impossible that it could have been written on the 12th of June. The first letter of the trip, from Fort Kearney, Nebraska, was dated June 25th. Most probably the writer intended to write July 12th.

ingpost zurückgeblieben nämlich der kleine Ponie, ein fremder guter Hund wie der Rink, hat sich dafür eingestellt. Die Hunde sind uns von grossem Nutzen, sie springen zu, umringen die Buffalos, und reissen einen nieder, bis wir kommen, ihn totzuschliessen. Militair ist hinter uns, auch sind uns Soldaten entgegengekommen, die von dem Fort zurückkehrten. Wir achten weder was vor noch was hinter uns ist. Am gefährlichsten zu reisen ist es wirklich beim Militair, weil die Indianer so sehr auf sie erbittert sind. Vor den Städten wo Militair und Emigranten sich am meisten gefürchtet haben, sind wir durchgegangen und ist uns nichts Leides geschehen. Die zweite Nacht nachdem wir Ash-Hollow pasirt, wo es am schlimmsten sein sollte, trafen wir einen Indianer Camp gegen Abend, da wo wir cämpen wollten. Als sie uns sahen, nahmen sie ihre Ponies und übrigen Sachen, gingen über den River hinüber und cämpen auf der anderen Seite. Sie kamen nicht zu uns herüber und wir gingen auch nicht zu ihnen hin. Am anderen Morgen brachen wir auf und zogen unsere Strasse, desgleichen thaten auch die Indianer. Dies war das Letzte, was wir von ihnen gesehen haben. Den 2ten Abend nach diesem hatte George Link mit seiner Mannschaft die Wache, um 12 Uhr Nachts weckte er mich auf und sagte, er vernähme eine Stimme etwa eine halbe Meile weg von dem Vieh, als wenn ein Ochse unter die Wölfe gefallen wäre. Alles Vieh sei im Sturm herbeigestürzt und sei dieser Stimme nachgeeilt. Er fragte mich, ob er der Stimme trauen dürfe; ich sagte; nein, denn auf solche Weise locken die Indianer das Vieh an sich, gab ihm erfahrene Männer, vorweg zu reiten. Da war die Stimme über eine Meile entfernter, als Link sie vorher gehört. Es ist uns kein Lied geschehen. Ich finde alle Dinge anders in den Plains, als ich berichtet worden bin. Es findet sich im Durchschnitt mehr Holz auf den Plains, als die Leute im Allgemeinen in Europa haben. Cräkers braucht man keine auf den Plains, ich habe noch nicht anders gelebt, als ich zu Hause gelebt habe. Bis diesseits des Platte River haben wir jeden Tag unseren Spinat gehabt. Von Kearney nach Laramie haben wir unsere Pies von Johannis- und Stachelbeeren so gut gehabt, wie wir sie in Missouri nicht gegessen haben. Beim s. g. Courthouse und Chimney Rock, sehen die Gebirge aus, wie die Festung Erfurt!

*Neues.* Wir haben die Grabstätte der 30 Mann Soldaten bei Laramie gesehen, welche voriges Jahr von den Indianern niedergeschossen worden sind. Vor ein paar Wochen haben die Indianer bei der Fort den Officieren 20 Ponies gestohlen. Es thäte Noth, dass die Emigranten die Soldaten beschützten. Schande für die Union. Ich bin eingeladen von den höchsten Offizieren in Laramie, in ihrem Zimmer eine Visite abzustatten, bin getreated worden aufs Beste, sie haben gestaunt über meine Einfachheit und Dreistigkeit und ich zeigte ihnen, dass ich ein Mann sei, der keine Furcht in sich trage. Der Storekeeper von Laramie trat ein und gab Zeugnis von mir, dass er alle Achtung vor mir hätte. Ursache: Dieser Storekeeper und ein anderer Mann kamen einen Morgen an mein Camp und baten um

Milch, und ich lies sie nicht von dannen bis sie ihr Frühstück bei mir genossen hatten. Sie kamen von Kearney und hatten nachgesehen, ob ihre Goods angekommen wären. Er gab mir den besten Brandy den er hatte. Jetzt halten wir vor dem schlimmsten Posten, nach aller Aussage. Von hier bis nach der Brücke über den Platte, liegen Tausende von Indianern auf beiden Seiten des Rivers. Der erste Train dies Frühjahr mit Store-Goods, des Captain Gibson, von St. Joseph ist bei der Brücke von den Indianern niedergeschossen. Eine Frau hat beim Kuhmelken 2 Lanzenstiche in die Schulter bekommen, ist aber mit dem Leben davongekommen. Die Gebeine Gibson's wollen sie im Spätjahr über die Plains nach Missouri transportieren, weil der verstorbene in Missouri gewohnt hat. Es scheint weil ich einen von Missouri fortgenommen, ein andrer wieder dahin zurückgebracht werden soll, denn ein jedes Land fordert seine Einwohner todt oder lebendig. Der 2te Train ist beraubt worden von ihrem Vieh. Die Indianer haben es an einen anderen Train wieder verkauft.

*Das Neueste.* Die Brücken-Compagnie am Platte haben ein Gefecht mit den Indianern gehabt. Haben 2 Indianer getödtet, einen verwundet, wie viele von Weissen geblieben, habe ich noch nicht erfahren. Die Brücken-Compagnie will retur nach Laramie gehen, das passt uns, da können wir ohne Zoll über die Brücke fahren. Alle trading posts wollen die Plains verlassen. Heute oder Morgen, kommt das Militair, dass wir hinter uns gelassen, in Laramie an. Die Indianer wollen Laramie belagern. So ist das Gespräch. Es ist ein Train von etwa 40 Wägen 3 Tage Reisen von uns von welchem 9 Mann bei Laramie kämpften, sie haben den Train wegen schlechter Behandlung von Seiten des Captains verlassen, und mich um Aufnahme gebeten. Ich habe sie aufgenommen. Es sind 8 Engländer und ein Hamburger. Es ist wunderbar, dass die Leute alle ihre Zuflucht bei uns suchen, und uns doch nicht kennen. Trains welche stärker an Mannschaft und Bewaffnung waren, als wir haben um Aufnahme bei uns gebeten, ich habe aber keinen aufgenommen. Das Durchfahren durch den Platte und Laramie River ist nichts. Es ist zum Verwundern, dass Menschen zuweilen aus etwas eine Wichtigkeit machen, das sich am Ende doch als nichts ausweist, jeder Hund kann durch diese River laufen. Morgen früh brechen wir auf und gehen der Hölle entgegen. Was uns in der ferneren Zeit begegnen wird, werden wir Euch kund thun, wenn wir nach Oregon kommen. Ihr habt Eure irdische Heimath, die der Herr Euer Gott Euch gegeben hat, die verschleudert nicht, bis ihr weitere Nachricht von mir erhaltet. Einen herzlichen Gruss an Euch Alle von uns Allen.

Euer treuer Bruder

Wilhelm Keil.

Willapa Valley, d. 13. October 1855.

Liebe Brüder und Schwestern in Christo,

Nach allem Kampf und Streit haben wir es endlich so weit

gebracht, dass wir Euch benachrichtigen können, wie es uns von Fort Laramie bis auf den heutigen Tag ergangen ist. Der letzte Bericht von Laramie aus war, dass wir von nun ab würden der Hölle entgegen gehen. Wie geweisagt, so geschehen. Der Aufruhr der Sioux Indianer war gross bei Laramie, so dass sich niemand wagte, vom Fort zu entfernen, sondern in der Nähe zu bleiben. Allein wir waren ohne Furcht gemacht. Neun ledige Männer kämpften bei uns, welche mit ihrem Captain vom Train sich entzweit hatten, sie standen da, ohne Provision, ohne Geld und ohne Fuhrwerk; sie konnten weder rückwärts noch vorwärts und baten mich um Aufnahme und um Schutz durch die Sioux Country. Ich sagte ihnen, wenn sie friedsame Männer wären, wolle ich ihren Plunder fahren und an ihnen thun, was ich könnte; wogegen sie mir versprachen, alles für uns zu thun, was sie vermöchten. Gegen Abend kam ein Amerikaner und ein Deutscher zu mir, welche die Führer eines Trains von 7 Wagen waren; sie kämpften 7 Meilen über das Fort hinaus, wo ihnen der Hauptmann von der Fort den Rath gegeben, dass sie nicht weiter voran reisen sollten, bis ein stärkerer Train ihnen zu Hülfe käme. Sie hatten bereits 8 Tage dort gecämpft und auf uns gewartet. Sie baten mich um Aufnahme und um Beschützung, gleich wie die andern, ich nahm sie auf mit den Worten: wenn sie friedlich mit uns ziehen wollten. Denselben Abend trafen wir in ihrem Camp ein. Am andern Morgen trieben wir alles Vieh zusammen und ich blies die Trompete zum Aufbruch. Wir reisten fort alle Tage und ist uns nichts seltsames widerfahren, haben blos 2 Indianer gesehen, welche auf den Hall der Trompete durchgingen, so stark sie konnten. Endlich langten wir an der Nord Platte Brücke an. Wir konnten frei über die Brücke fahren, wenn wir gewollt hätten; aber unser Vieh war matt und 5 Meilen über die Brücke hinaus war ein guter Camp Platz. Wir hielten es rathsam, einen Tag dort zu rasten und weil es von dort aus nicht mehr in Betreff der Sioux Indianer gefährlich zu reisen war, so entschloss der Train von 7 Wagen, voran zu reisen, zumal ihr Vieh noch in gutem Stande war. Die neun Männer theilten sich dort gleichfalls, 3 Mann blieben bei uns und 6 gingen mit ihnen. Sie wären gern alle bei uns geblieben, wenn wir sie hätten können hinüberführen. Ich redete mit ihnen nach Salt Lake zu gehen und ihren Captain dort um ihren rückständigen Lohn zu ersuchen. So reisten sie mit einander fort; am 3ten Tage kamen wir alle am Sweet Water wieder zusammen, wo die 6 Männer mich aufs neue wieder um Aufnahme ersuchten. Ich sagte ihnen aber, dass mein Proviant es nicht erlaubte doch die drei anderen behielt ich bei mir, einen gab ich Wagenblast, eine Fuhr zu treiben, den andern gab ich John Stauffer, den dritten behielt ich, um Vieh treiben zu helfen. Die Männer sprachen oft ihre Zufriedenheit und Dankbarkeit aus, dass ich mich ihrer so angenommen, ich setzte diese Männer nicht allein meinen Brüdern gleich, sondern hielt sie wie meine eigenen Kinder. So reisten wir fort bis nach dem Green River. Von da aus ging das Elend an. Viele Klagen, dass Ash

Hollow der Eingang zu der Hölle sei, und Devils Gate sei der Ausgang: ich aber sage Devils Gate sei der Eingang. Am Mittag fuhren wir von der Sandy Creek fort, glaubten gegen Abend den Green River zu erreichen, verfehlten den Weg, kamen statt bei der unteren, bei der oberen Ferry heraus, fuhren die ganze Nacht, Ochsen stürzten vor der Furth zusammen und verreckten. Kühe blieben vor Mattigkeit liegen, kein Gras, kein Wasser war irgendwo zu finden, am andern Morgen erreichten wir endlich den Green River und fanden gutes Gras und Wasser, blieben einen Tag, wo wieder etliche Kühe verreckten. Eine Ferry über den River war nicht vorhanden. So mussten wir mit unsern Wägen durch den Green River fahren, welches sehr gut ging. Am Abend kam ein Indianer in unser Camp, welcher sehr liebreich war. Ich liess ihm Essen kochen und gab seinen Kindern auch mit zu Hause. Er gab Zeichen der Dankbarkeit, ging hinter einen Wagen kniete nieder und betete, setzte sich auf sein Pony und ritt davon. Im Gebirge am Ham's Fork cämpten wir; am Abend kamen 7 Indianer zu unserem Camp. Es war ein Vater mit seinen erwachsenen Söhnen. Ich liess ihnen eine Mahlzeit bereiten und setzte mich mit ihnen zu Tische. Die Feierlichkeit eines Vaters mit seinen Kindern über Tisch und die Gabe Gottes zu schätzen, habe ich noch nie bei einem andern Vater gefunden. Er sagte seinen Söhnen, sie sollten nicht alles essen, sondern sollten auch der Klien gedanken, die zu Hause wären und ihnen von dem Guten mitzubringen. Ich verstand es und sagte ihnen, sie dürften alles essen, ich hätte auch viel für die Frau und Kinder, gab ihm Zeichen, er solle zu Hause gehen, gab seiner Familie von Allem, was sie gegessen hatten mit, dazu gab Aurora ihren Comfort mit, dem Alten gab ich einen Ochsenbogen um einen Bogen zu machen, weil derart Holz dort nicht zu haben ist. Dieses alles erregte eine solche Freude, dass man die Liebe und Dankbarkeit aus seinen Gesichtszügen lesen konnte. Beim Abschied sagte ich ihm, er müsse am andern Morgen mit der ganzen Freundschaft zum Frühstück kommen. Mit Tagesanbruch kamen anstatt 7, 25 und brachten die Ochsen, die sich ins Gebirge verlaufen, zum Camp. Sie kamen, wie man pflegt zu einem groszen Ehrentag zu kommen, hatten sich gefärbt und ihre besten Kleider angezogen, ich speiste sie alle, und sie waren mit uns ein Herz und ein Sinn. Ich blies die Trompete, und so reisten wir von dannen. Viele Begebenheiten sind zwischen da und Fort Hall vorgegangen, die ich nicht alle beschreiben kann. Furchtbare Berge, wenig Gras, vergiftetes Wasser, viel Vieh verloren. Nach langem Reisen erreichten wir Fort Hall, cämpten dort zwei Tage; ein trader brachte uns einen Brief, den der Indianer Agent geschrieben hatte, und worin er uns anzeigte, er sei am Salmons Falle gewesen, die Indianer hätten gedroht alle Weissen umzubringen, die die alte Road durch ihr Land kämen, er rieth daher allen Emigrant, die neue Road über den Snake River bei Fort Hall zu gehen. Stauffer sagte, es wäre diesen Männern eigenes Interesse wenn wir die neue Road nähmen, um von uns das Ferry

Geld zu erlangen, es wären so viele die alte Road gegangen und so würden wir auch durchkommen. Ich erwiderte wenn uns wegen Wasser und Gras kein Mangel auf der alten Road wäre, so wäre mir wegen der Indianer nicht bange. Wir brachen auf und kamen auf Salmons Falls am Snake River zu. Eine scheusliche Welt, grausame Roads, alles Gras vergiftet, alle Tage 1, 2, bis 3 Stück Vieh verreckt, eine Hitze zum Umkommen, aus der ganzen Natur nur Spuren des Todes und der Vernichtung, sichtbar die ganze Road mit Gräbern und Totengebeinen bezeichnet. Diese Wüste erstreckt sich von Fort Hall bis nach Grand Round Valley in den Blue Mountains, wo der 7te Fürst aller Vernichtung seine Behausung hat. Die ganze Wüste hat gepredigt, dass wir darin sollen verwüstet werden. Von den Kühen, wo wir unsere Zuflucht nehmen wollten zum Einspannen, sind noch mehr verreckt, als von den Ochsen. Es schien als ob wir am Ende keinen Wagen mehr durchbringen würden. Die wir heute zusammen spannten, mussten wir die nächste Nacht auf dem Camp-Platz lassen, und so ging es schier alle Tage. So blieb mir endlich nichts mehr übrig, als von Sonnenauf-bis Sonnenniedergang vorauszugehen und die Stätten der Hölle und des Todes zu verfluchen und zu verschwören. Mit den Worten, dass kein Wagen solle dahinten bleiben und dass ich das Opfer das Gott ersehen, durch die Wüste bringen müsse, und wenn sich alle 7 Fürsten der Finsternis dagegen auflehnten, habe ich glücklich alle Seelen, sammt allen Wägen durchgebracht, und der Teufel ist von ewiglich an mir zu Schanden geworden. Wir trafen hunderte von Indianern am Salmon Falls, welche froh waren als sie mein Angesicht sahen; ich habe alle Macht über die Indianer gehabt, konnte mit ihnen thun, was ich wollte. Ich bin oft von 50-60 Indianern ganz allein umringt gewesen, habe Tabak unter sie ausgetheilt und sie alle in Triumph gebracht. Unsere kleinen Kinder sind allein vor den Wägen vorausgesprungen mitten unter die Indianer hinein, sie haben den Indianer Kindern Brodt und allerlei sonstige Dinge gebracht, welches den alten Indianer herzliche Freude machte. Wir sind an Plätze angekommen, wo so viele Indianer versammelt waren, dass man sie nicht zählen konnte. Die kleinsten Kinder bis zum Samuel sind unter den Indianern herumgesprungen als ob sie zu Hause wären. Unsere kleinen Mädchen sind von ihnen sehr reichlich mit Perlenketten beschenkt worden, kurz, meine einzige Seligkeit auf den Plains war eine Begegnung, mit den Indianern. Unsere einzige Hoffnung war: wenn wir nur Fort Boise erreichen könnten um da Ochsen zu kaufen, und wir erreichten es glücklich. Da lag Militair da, welches mit den Snake-Indianern Krieg führten. Ich schickte Männer nach dem Fort, um Ochsen zu kaufen, sie fanden aber keine; dagegen war Michael Schaefer dort anwesend, welcher hier schon längere Zeit auf uns gewartet hatte. Sie kamen Abends retour und brachten Scafer und einen Officier vom Militair mit in unser Camp. Die Freude unserm Bruder M. Schaefer zu sehen, war gross, doch ich blieb in meinen Gefühlen, wie gewöhnlich. Wir



berieten uns was das Beste zu thun wäre, um über die Blue Mountains zu kommen. Schaefer wusste so wenig Rath, als jeder andere auch; er sagte uns, dass wir über die Cascades nicht könnten, er sei die Road gekommen, und es sei unmöglich, dieselbe jetzt mit Wagen zu passieren, wir müssten zunächst nach den Dalles am Columbia, wo er selber noch nicht gewesen sei. Er reiste ein Paar Tage mit uns, das Militair zu Fort Boise brach gleichfalls auf und kehrte nach den Dalles zurück. Wir kamen mit den Soldaten am Burnt River zusammen und beriethen uns mit dem Capitain dahin, dass er 2 Esel vor einen kleinen Wagen spannen und 2 Männer und eine kleine Lot Mehl mit sich nach den Dalles vorausgehen liesse, um auszuforschen, was dort am besten für uns und unser Weiterkommen zu thun sey. Ich schickte Stauffer und Schaefer mit ihm fort, den Schaefer, um wegen der Schifffahrt, und wegen Überwinterung des Viehs bei den Dalles Vorkehrungen zu treffen, den Schaefer schickte ich nach Hause, das Beste dort für uns zu thun. Die erste Nacht, nachdem sie uns verlassen hatten, crepirten 5 Ochsen, trotz alledem haben wir dennoch Grand Round Valley erreicht, bis auf einen Wagen, den der Wagenblast retour lassen musste. Grand Round Valley ist ein wunderschönes Thal, viel Gras, viel Wasser und viel Holz auf den Blue Mountains. Dort mussten wir 6 Tage cämpen, damit sich das Vieh wieder einiger Massen erholen konnte, um die Wagen über die Blue Mountains zu bringen. Wir cämpen 1½ Meile von einem grossen Indianer Camp entfernt, die zum Indianer-Stamm der Cajuses gehörten. Diese Indianer waren gleichfalls sehr freundlich gegen uns. Es befanden sich 4 Chiefs unter ihnen, welche mich sammt den übrigen alle Tage besuchten. Den 4 Häuptlingen verkündigte ich, dass sie alle Tage bei mir essen müssten, so lange ich unter ihnen verweilte, worüber sie sich herzlich freuten. Der Hauptchief war ein alter ehrlicher Mann, sein Name ist Camaspallo Ullman. Weil wir nun alle Deutsch sprachen, so glaubten sie, wir wären Franzosen; ich machte es ihnen begreiflich, dass wir Deutsche wären; da nun das Militair etliche Tage vor unserer Ankunft durchpassirt war, so waren sie voll von allen dem, was sie gesehen hatten und sprachen: Cajuses good, Frenchmen good, Dutchmen good, Americans no good,—shot. Die Häuptlinge waren alle Tage bei mir, ich musste mit ihnen fortreiten, ihr schönes Land und vielen Ponies zu sehen. Schönere Pferde habe ich in meinem Leben nicht gesehen, als diese Indianer hatten. Man konnte oft mehrere Tausend in einem Trupp beisammen sehen. Denselben Tag, an welchem ich von den Chiefs zurückkehrte, fragten sie mich wie viele Knaben ich hätte, ich sagte ihnen, drei Herangewachsene und einen Kleinen. Darauf verkündigten sie mir, dass jeder der drei Buben einen Pony zum Reiten von ihnen zum Geschenk erhalten solle. Camaspallo, der Hauptchief nannte meinen Fritz den kleinen deutschen Chief und gab ihm sein eigenes Reit-Pony zum Geschenk, der August bekam eins von einem anderen Chief zum Present, Eli bekam einen kleinen Streithengst geschenkt. Diese

Chiefs wollten durchaus haben, ich solle bei ihnen meine Wohnung aufschlagen, und hätte ich es gethan, wäre ich besser daran, als ich gegenwärtig bin; denn kein Bruder und keine Schwester haben mich jemals mehr lieben können, als mich diese Leute lieb und werthgeachtet haben. Dies war nun ein Wunder für die 3 Amerikaner, die sich in unserem Train befanden, dass die Indianer mich so lieb hatten, als ob ich bei ihnen zu Hause gehörte. Nach 6 tägigem Aufenthalt brachen wir auf und traten die Reise über die Blue Mountains an. Wir erreichten mit grosser Schwierigkeit das Umatilla Valley, verloren wieder Vieh, kämpften unter den Indianern, welche uns Kartoffeln, Erbsen und Zweibeln brachten. und wie die andern sehr freundlich gegen uns waren. Wir verliessen auch dieses Valley und gingen nun erst den Dalles entgegen. Auf den Bergen am Umatilla erblickten wir einen einzelnen Indianer auf einem Pony; wer war es? Der alte Camaspallo Ullman, welcher von Grand Round Valley 80 Meilen zu reisen hatte, um uns dort noch einmal zu begegnen. Er nahm Abschied von uns und zeigte, nun musste er weinen, er habe geglaubt, ich würde in seinem Lande verweilen, und jetzt zögen wir doch weiter. Ich nahm ihn zum Wagen und gab ihm noch ein Stück Pei, er drückte mir freundlich die Hand und mit thränenden Augen sagte er noch, wenn er nur alle seine Ponies beisammen hätte, so wolle er dahin ziehen, wo ich meinen Aufenthalt nähme. Unsere Reise ging weiter, verloren auch noch ziemlich Vieh, bevor wir die Dalles erreichten. Hundert Meilen diesseits der Dalles kam die Nachricht, dass die Amerikaner Krieg mit den Yakimas Indianern, nördlich vom Columbia hätten. Ein Indianer Agent und mehrere Weisse seien von ihnen getödtet. Der Major Haller sei mit 200 Soldaten, ihnen entgegen gerückt. Die letzte Nachricht war, dass Major Haller von den Indianer zurückgeschlagen worden und eine Kanone und mehrere Mann im Gefecht verloren habe. Die Dalles, so wie ganz Oregon und Washington Territory befänden sich in der Höchsten Aufregung. Stauffer kehrte von den Dalles retour und traf uns 50 Meilen diesseits. Er bestätigte alles, was wir gehört hatten. Wir erreichten endlich den Columbia River, 25 Meilen diesseits den Dalles. Wir kämpften 5 Meilen diesseits der Mündung des Chute Rivers in den Columbia. Die Ferry Leute kamen auf den Abend in unserm Camp an, um bei uns Schutz zu suchen; ich sagte ihnen, wenn ihr die ihr hier zu Hause seid und mit den Indianern sprechen könnt, Schutz bei uns sucht, wie soll es den uns ergehen? Denselben Abend kamen ausserdem noch mehrere Settler in unser Camp, welche alle ihre Habe verlassen hatten, und kämpften bei uns. Auch kamen etliche Indianer vom Grand Round Valley, welche Vieh nach den Dalles trieben. Als sie mich wieder erblickten, waren sie hoch erfreut. Ich gab ihnen zu essen und ein Zelt zum Übernachten, worüber sich die Amerikaner ärgerten, denn ihre beständige Rede war, man müsse alle Indianer todt schiessen. Ich erwiderte ihnen: ich mache keinen Unterschied unter der Menschheit; es sei meine Pflicht die Indianer eben so gut

zu behandeln, wie ich sie, die Amerikaner behandelt habe; worauf sie stille schwiegen. Dieselben Ferry Leute nahmen uns 70 Dollars ab, um uns über den Chute River zu ferryen. Sie boten uns einen hohen Preis ihre Provisions nach den Dalles zu fahren, welches wir aber nicht thun konnten. So verliessen sie die Ferry und alle ihre dortigen Habseligkeiten und flüchteten sich noch denselben Tag nach den Dalles. Den nächsten Tag erreichten wir gleichfalls die Dalles, wo sich alles richtete in den Krieg zu ziehen. Wir schlugen unsere Zelte an der Steamboat-Landing auf, die junge Mannschaft schickte ich mit dem Vieh über den Pack-Trail nach Washington Territory, nach Schaefer's Angabe, bis an die Cascade Falls gehen bloß zwei kleine Steamboats. Selbige waren so sehr beschäftigt, das Militair auf-und abzufahren, dass für unser Fortkommen beinahe keine Möglichkeit war; denn der commandierende Major glaubte, dass die Dalles alle Tage von den Indianern könnten bestürmt werden. Nach mehreren Tagen hatten wir Gelegenheit mit einem der Böte fortzukommen. Die Amerikaner, die wir von Fort Laramie mitgenommen, hatten inzwischen in den Dalles Arbeit gefunden und uns verlassen; 2 von ihnen waren bei dem dort wohnenden Indianer Agenten in Arbeit gegangen und der dritte trat bei einem 15 Meilen von den Dalles entfernt wohnenden Friedensrichter in Dienst. Nachdem wir nach langem Warten endlich unsere Sachen sämmtlich aufs Steamboat geladen und alles zur Abfahrt bereit war, kam der Indianer Agent plötzlich heran und fragte mich ob mein Name William Keil sei? Ich antwortete: ja; er fragte ferner, ob ich Captain dieses Trains sei, welches ich gleichfalls bejahte. Hierauf wendete er sich an einen ihn begleitenden Offizier, und überlieferte mich demselben und seinem Commando Soldaten, mit den Worten ich sei als United States Prisoner verhaftet. Weil ich mich aber von aller Schuld frei fühlte, zog ich sofort meinen Rock an, und fragte, wohin man mich zu führen gedächte? Der Lieutenant Dearing sagte: nach dem Fort zum Major Haller. Dieser Lieutenant Dearing bewies sich aber sofort als einen Ehrenmann, indem er augenblicklich erkannte, dass ich fälschlich angeklagt sey, weshalb er auch seinem Commando Soldaten zuwinkte, sich aus unserer Nähe zu entfernen und sich mit meinem Worte genüge, dass ich ihm überall folgen wolle, wohin er als dienstthuender Offizier mich führen müsse. Er begleitete mich zunächst nach dem Fort zum Major Haller; letzteren fragte ich, welches Vergehens halber ich denn eigentlich angeklagt und verhaftet sey; worauf er erwiederte, die Anklage sei: dass ich den Indianern gegenüber das amerikanische Volk verworfen habe; und dies sei ein Verbrechen gegen die Union. Ich erwiederte ihm: wenn solches der Fall, so müsste ich gegen mich selbst und meine Familie gehandelt haben, indem ich selber ein amerikanischer Bürger und alle meine Kinder in Amerika geboren wären. Auch Major Haller erkannte sofort meine Unschuld, und dass vom Indianer Agenten eine fälschliche Anklage gegen mich erhoben worden. Weil ich aber eines Criminalverbrechens halber

angeklagt worden, so konnte er nicht anders, als mich bis zu einer gerichtlichen Verantwortung zu verhaften. Ich sagte ihm, dass alle meine Sachen, sammt meiner Familie und dem ganzen Train sich bereits zur Einschiffung auf dem Boote befänden und ich wüsste nicht, was ich in diesem Falle machen solle. Er entgegnete, er glaube, er könne sich mit meinem Worte begnügen, dass ich erscheinen wolle, wann ich zur gerichtlichen Verantwortung vorgefordert würde. Somit gab er mich frei. Ich ging hinunter nach dem Boot und nahm Abschied von meiner Familie. Frau und Kinder weinten bitterlich und wussten nicht was aus mir werden sollte. Das Boot ging fort und ich behielt niemanden bei mir als den Schulmeister. Denselben Abend gingen wir wieder retour zum Major Haller, welcher uns einlud, mit ihm an einem Tische zu speisen. Er nahm uns auf als ob wir seine Brüder wären. Denselben Abend, als wir so mit einander in Freundschaft lebten kam der Lieutenant Dearing und sagte zum Major Haller, er, der Major, dürfe diese Beiden Freunde, nicht den ganzen Abend für sich allein behalten, er wolle sie auch haben. Darauf führte er uns in sein Wohnzimmer und tractirte uns mit den besten Getränken, die er hatte. Er spielte die Guitare und ich musste die Mundharmonika dazu spielen, und so verlebten wir unter Musik und Gesang einen herrlichen Abend. Späterhin zeigte er uns in einem Nebenzimmer unser Ruhelager und wir hatten auf weichen Betten eine wohlschlafende Nacht. Ich hatte während dieser Nacht einen wunderbaren Traum. Mir träumte: ich bliesse die Trompete zum Aufbruch, plötzlich flüsterte mir Einer ins Ohr, ich solle nicht blasen die Feinde wären nahe; zugleich sah ich mich von Feinden umringt und die Meinigen auf der Flucht nach allen Seiten begriffen, mein Instrument, dass ich in der Hand hielt wollte keinen Ton von sich geben, dagegen hörte ich ein grosses Kriegsgeschrei, worüber ich erwachte und wahrnahm, dass ein solcher Sturm und Aufruhr in der Natur war, dass das Haus bebte: späterhin erfuhr ich, dass alle die Unrügen in derselben stürmischen Nacht sich in grosser Gefahr befunden, dass das Flatboot, worauf sich unsere Wagen und Sachen, so wie Wilhelms Verschluss befand, sich fast ganz vom Steamboot losgerissen, und den Wellen Preis gegeben wäre, wenn es den Seelenten nicht zu guter Letzt geglückt, durch eine rückgängige Bewegung das Flatboot von dem Ungestüm der Wellen zu retten und einen schützenden Ankerplatz zu erreichen.—Am andern Morgen gingen wir nach den Dalles; unterwegs begegnete mir der Indianer Agent. Ich fragte ihn, wann ich vor Gericht geladen würde, und er erwiderte mir; der Friedensrichter, vor dem die Verhandlung stattfinden werde, wohne 15 Meilen von den Dalles entfernt, er habe ihn zu heute morgen in die Stadt berufen, derselbe sei aber zur Zeit noch nicht angelangt. Ich sagte ihm ich könne mich hier nicht länger aufhalten; worauf er entgegnete, das ginge ihn nichts an, er müsse seine Pflicht als United States Beamter unter allen Umständen erfüllen, meine Antwort war: es sei als Familienvater und Bürger

der Vereinigten Staaten gleichfalls meine Pflicht, für das Wohl der Meinigen zu sorgen. Somit kehrten wir beide zum Fort zurück. Ich blieb auf der Porch der Commandanten Wahnring stehen, während der Major Haller den Indianer Agenten (Thompson mit Namen) zu sich ins Zimmer nahm. Sie hielten ein langes und lebhaftes Zwiegespräch und vernahm die Worte des Majors: er solle sich wohl hüten, dass er nicht zu weit ginge mit diesem Manne. Bald darauf kam der Agent heraus und erklärte mich frei, wenn der Squire bis 3 Uhr desselben Tages nicht zur Stadt käme. Wir speisten beim Major zu Mittag und ich bemerkte gegen den Agenten, ich wolle die Stadt nicht verlassen, bevor ich nicht gerichtlich verhört worden. Um 3 Uhr begaben wir uns nach der Stadt. Ein Mann zu Pferde begegnete uns, fragte mich nach einem Manne Namens William Keil, worauf ich erwiderte, dass ich selbst dieser Mann sei. Er zog eine Schrift hervor, und sagte er sei der Constable und habe mich laut dieses Warrents vor Gericht zu laden. Wir verfügten uns demnach nach dem Gerichtszimmer in den Dalles und alle Bürger in den Dalles, die von dieser Sache Kunde erhalten, waren bei der Versammlung gegenwärtig. Es befand sich im Gerichtszimmer der Agent und zwei Zeugen gegen mich. Die Zeugen waren über meine Erwartung, die zwei Amerikaner, die ich von Laramie über die Plains genommen, und die jetzt bei dem Agenten Arbeit bekommen hatte. Auf der einen Seite des Zimmers stand der Agent mit seinen beiden Zeugen und Niemand bei ihm, auf der anderen Seite stand ich und der Schulmeister, nebst allen Hauptleuten des Forts und allen anwesenden Einwohnern aus den Dalles. Die Anklage wurde vorgelesen, die Zeugen mussten schwören. Die Anklage lautete dahin: ich solle mit den Cajuse Indianern ganz vereinigt gelebt haben und die Zeugen bezeugten, dass ich den Cajuse Indianern gegenüber die Amerikaner verworfen, indem ich gesagt haben sollte, die Amerikaner seien nicht gut, dagegen aber die Cajuses, die Deutschen und Franzosen seien gute Leute, welche Redensart aber in Wahrheit nicht ich, sondern aber die Cajuses gegen uns gebraucht hatten. Hierauf ward ich aufgefordert, meine Zuegen darzustellen. Ich antwortete: ich habe keine und brauche auch keine, denn die *zwei* hätten ja schon alles bezeugt. Hier sei der alte Mann der die ganze Zeit bei mir im Camp gewesen, der möge ausreden was er gesehen und gehört hätte. Der Schulmeister (Karl Ruge) musste schwören und bezeugte, dass er seit mehreren Jahren meiner Kinder Lehrer gewesen und sich als zu meiner Familie gehörig betrachte, dass er mich in jeder Beziehung als einen unbescholtenen und aufrichtigen Mann, der von allen, die ihn kannten, geehrt und geliebt werde, kennen gelernt, dass er nie ein unrechtes Wort gegen die Amerikaner aus meinem Munde gehört und namentlich nicht, dass er zu den Cajuses gesagt, die Amerikaner seien nicht gut. Das Herz der Hauptleute und der Bürger entbrannte, sie stürmten im Gerichtszimmer auf mich los, ich solle ihnen meine Sache zur weiteren Verfechtung übergeben. Ich be-

dankte mich für ihr Anerbieten und erwiderte, sie sollten die Ankläger nur machen lassen. Der Squire forderte mich dann auf, mich selbst zu verantworten. Ich stand auf mit den Worten: Meine Herren, ich stehe hier in Ihrer Mitte als ein Kind, und weiss nicht, was ich zu dem allen sagen soll. Es ist meinen Mitbürgern aus der ganzen Union bekannt, wie gefährlich in diesem Jahre die Emigranten über die Plains, mit Beziehung auf die Indianer Unruhe gewesen ist. Einmal auf dem Wege stand zur Beschützung meiner Familie und aller derer, die sich in meinem Train befanden, kein anderes Mittel offen, als mit den Indianern denen wir unterwegs begegneten, friedlich und freundlich zu Verkehren. Wenn es mir nun gelungen ist meinen Train trotz aller Hindernisse und Abrathungen durch Tausende von Indianern, allein durch Friedfertigkeit und Freundlichkeit bisher glücklich durchzuführen, und ich nun dafür bestraft werden soll, dass solches von mir geschehen ist so bin ich bereit, die Strafe dafür zu empfangen. Der Squire sagte dann, ich habe das Recht, den Zeugen, meines Anklägers gleichfalls Fragen zur Beantwortung vorzulegen. Ich legte zuerst dar, unter welchen Umständen ich die 9 Amerikaner bei Fort Laramie gefunden, wie ich sie aufgenommen und behandelt hatte, dann fragte ich sie, ob ich je auf der ganzen Reise zwischen ihnen, als Amerikanern und meinen übrigen Leuten irgend einen Unterschied gemacht? und ob ich sie nicht nur meinen eigenen Leuten gleich getetzt, sondern auch ebenso wohl für sie, als für meine eigenen Kinder Sorge getragen? Der Squire forderte sie auf darüber Zeugnis abzulegen und sie bezeugten, dass alle meine Worte wahr wären, und dass kein Mensch sie noch besser behandelt hätte als ich. Das Feuer embrannte mehr und mehr in meiner Mitbürger Herzen, je mehr sich dies Nichtswürdige Verhalten dieser beiden Zeugen herausstellte. Ein Bürger aus den Dalles sprang auf mit den Worten: Er sehe, Dr. Keil habe weiter keine Zeugen, hob seine Hand auf und legte vor dem Squire einen Eid ab, dass er mein Zeuge sein wolle. Er bezeugte, dass er im Jahre 1852 im Grand Round Valley von den Cajuses Indianern, dieselbe Redensart gehört, welche von den Zeugen mir Schuldgegeben. Major Haller stand auf und sagte, er wolle auch zur Rechtfertigung meiner Sache einen anderen Zeugen aufstellen, wenn es nöthig wäre. Alle Gefühle der Hauptleute und Dalleser Bürger strömten über den Ankläger und seine Zeugen los, dass sie schmachtend da sassen. Der Agent sprach hierauf; er wolle die Sache auf den Ausspruch des Friedensrichters ankommen lassen. Der Friedensrichter stand auf als ein Ehrenmann, erhob seine Stimme und verkündete: Meine Herren, ich erkläre den Dr. Keil als einen freien Mann, der unter allen Umständen an seinen Leuten recht gehandelt, so dass ich, wenn ich an seinem Platze und in seiner Lage gewesen, nicht wüsste, wie ich es besser hätte machen sollen.

*(To be Continued.)*

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